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CIVIC TRAINING IN SOVIET RUSSIA

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CIVIC TRAINING IN SOVIET RUSSIA

By SAMUEL NORTHRUP HARPER

The University of Chicago

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

This study of civic education is one of a series of similar analyses in a variety of states. Broadly speaking, the common purpose of these inquiries has been that of examining objectively the systems of civic cohesion in a group of states, of determining the broad trends of civic training in these modern nations, and of indicating possibilities in the further development and control of civic education. In two of these cases, Italy and Russia, striking experiments are now being made in the organization of new types of civic loyalty. Germany, England, the United States, and France present instances of powerful modern states and the development of types of civic cohesion. Switzerland and Austria-Hungary are employed as examples of the difficulty experienced in reconciling a central political allegiance with divergent and conflicting racial and religious elements.

The series includes volumes on the following subjects:

Soviet Russia, by Professor Samuel N. Harper, Professor of Russian Language and Institutions in the University of Chicago.

England, by Professor John M. Gaus, Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin.

Austria-Hungary, by Professor Oscar Jaszi, formerly of Budapest University, now Professor of Political Science in Oberlin College.

The United States, by Professor Carl Brinkmann, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Heidelberg.

Italy, by Professor Herbert W. Schneider, Professor of Philosophy in Columbia University, and Shepherd B. Clough, of Columbia University.

Germany, by Mr. Paul Kosok, New York City.

Switzerland, by Professor Robert C. Brooks, Professor of Political Science in Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

France, by Professor Carleton J. H. Hayes, Professor of History in Columbia University. (This is a part of the Columbia University series of "Studies in Post-War France" and is included here because of its intimate relation to the other volumes in the series.)

Civic Attitudes in American Textbooks, by Dr. Bessie L. Pierce, Professor of History in the State University of Iowa.

Induction into Citizenship, by Dr. Elizabeth Weber, Professor of Political Science, Hunter College, New York City.

Comparative Civic Education, by Professor Charles E. Merriam, Professor of Political Science in the University of Chicago.

Wide latitude has been given and taken by the individual collab-

orators in this study, with the understanding, however, (1) that as a minimum there would be included in each volume an examination of the social bases of political cohesion and (2) that the various mechanisms of civic education would be adequately discussed. There is inevitably a wide variation in point of view, method of approach, and in execution of the project as investigators differ widely in aptitude, experience, and environment.

Of the various investigators the question may be asked: What part do the social groupings play in the spirit of the state? What is the attitude of the economic groups which for this purpose may be considered under certain large heads, as the attitude of the business element, of the agricultural group, or of labor? What is the relation of the racial groups toward the political group whose solidarity is in question? Do they tend to integrate or disintegrate the state? What is the position of the religious factors in the given society, the Catholic, the Protestant, the Jewish? How are they concerned in loyalty toward the political unit? What is the place of the regional groupings in the political unit? Do they develop special tendencies alone or in company with other types of groupings already mentioned? What is the relation of these competing loyalties to each other?

It cannot be assumed that any of these groups have a special attraction or aversion toward government in general; and the analysis is not conducted with any view of establishing a uniformity of interest or attachment in any type of group, but rather of indicating the social composition of the existing political units and authorities. It may well be questioned whether there is any abstract loyalty, political or otherwise. These political loyalties are determined by concrete interests, modified by survivals that no longer fit the case and by aspirations not yet realized. The cohesion is a resultant of conflicting forces, or a balance of existing counterweights, a factor of the situation. All these factors may change and the balance may be the same, or one may change slightly and the whole balance may be overthrown. It is the integration of interests that counts, not the special form or character of any one of them.

Among the various approaches to civic education which it is hoped to analyze are the schools, the rôle of governmental services and officials, the place of the political parties, and the function of special patriotic organizations; or, from another point of view, the use of traditions in building up civic cohesion, the place of political symbolism, the relation of language, literature, and the press to civic

education, the position occupied by locality in the construction of a political loyalty; and, finally, it is hoped that an effective analysis may be made of competing group loyalties rivaling the state either within or without.

In these groups there is much overlapping. It would be possible to apply any one or all of the last-named categories to any or all of the first. Thus the formal school system made and does utilize language and literature, or symbolism, or love of locality, or make use of important traditions. Symbolism and traditions may and do overlap—in fact, *must* if they are to serve their purpose; while love of locality and language may be and are interwoven most intimately.

Intricate and difficult of comprehension as some of these patterns are, they lie at the basis of power; and control systems, however crude, must constantly be employed and invented to deal with these situations. The device may be as simple as an ancient symbol or as complicated as a formal system of school training, but in one form or other these mechanisms of cohesion are constantly maintained.

In the various states examined, these devices will be traced and compared. The result will by no means attain the dignity of exact measurement but will supply a rough tracing of outlines of types and patterns in different cities. It is hoped, however, that these outlines will be sufficiently clear to set forth some of the main situations arising in the process of political control and to raise important questions regarding the further development of civic education.

It may be suggested that the process by which political cohesion is produced must always be considered with reference to other loyalties toward other groups in the same society. Many of the devices here described are common to a number of competing groups and can be more clearly seen in their relation to each other, working in co-operation or competition, as the situation may be. The attitude of the ecclesiastical group or the economic group, or the racial or cultural group, or any of them, profoundly influences the nature and effect of the state's attempt to solidify political loyalty; and the picture is complete only when all the concurrent or relevant factors are envisaged.

These devices are not always consciously employed although they are spoken of here as if they were. It often happens that these instrumentalities are used without the conscious plan of anyone in authority. In this sense it might be better to say that these techniques are found rather than willed. At any rate, they exist and are operating.

These eight or nine techniques are only rough schedules or classi-

fications of broad types of cohesive influences. They are not presented as accurate analyses of the psychology of learning or teaching the cohesive process of political adherence. They presuppose an analysis of objectives which has not been made, and they presuppose an orderly study of the means of applying objectives; and this also has not been worked out in any of the states under consideration.

Professor Samuel N. Harper, who makes this study of *Civic Training in Soviet Russia,* has given many years to the study of Russian language, history, and political institutions. He resided in Russia for many years prior to the recent Revolution, and in repeated visits learned to know the Russian people and their institutions. The immediate basis of the present study is laid in a first-hand study of Soviet Russia during the summer and fall of 1926. Professor Harper undertook a direct investigation of the methods employed by the new Soviet authorities for the purpose of developing and maintaining civic solidarity. He was given access to materials necessary for this purpose, both in Moscow and elsewhere, and was able to find the data significant for his study. The Russian experiment in civic training is perhaps the most extensive and elaborate ever made in any state, and is therefore worthy of close attention, for in this process may be seen more clearly than in most cases the manipulation of the elements of political control.

CHARLES E. MERRIAM

PREFACE

A study, at the present moment, of the methods of civic education and training in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (Soviet Russia) is subject to certain limitations. It is necessary, in the first place, to take a specific moment of a period of the Revolution, recognizing it as a transitional stage. This period of transition is a comparatively long one, it is true; the leaders of the Revolution speak of a "generation" as the term required for the realization of many of the aims of institutions which come within the scope of this study.

As the first years of the Revolution, until 1921, were taken up in the main with the task of establishing the new political order and defending it against armed attack from outside as well as from within, the problems of education, and of organization for civic as opposed to military activities, could be given little attention. These first years constituted a temporary period, in the stricter sense of the term, and were years primarily of destruction and struggle. Some of the institutions and practices of these first years were to be maintained and developed, in some instances with only slight changes. On the other hand, many of the practices and methods which had been found necessary and expedient in the process of the seizure of power were to be abandoned as rapidly as possible. Finally many institutions could not be started until this later period, although they were subjects of discussion and planning from the first days of the Revolution. Thus the system which is to be studied is of very recent date, and even in many of its institutional aspects is still in the process of being built.

The territory that is to be covered by the programs and organizations for civic education and training is the vast one-sixth of the surface of the earth which the Soviet Union covers. This is the old Russian Empire with the exception of Finland, the Baltic States, the former Russian part of Poland, and Bessarabia. It is a loosely articulated expanse. Within a few hundred miles of Moscow there are whole communities which have never seen an automobile, for example, and which are thirty miles, by unpaved roads, from a railway. The development of the radio is beginning to break down the tyranny of isolation to which such a large percentage of the Russian population has been subjected. One must constantly bear in mind the long distances and poor communications of this vast area. It has been impos-

sible in this study to go into the question of the extent to which the efforts to reach even the most remote corners of the Union with political propaganda and programs of civic activity have been successful, or to compare the results to date in the different regions. The presence in the Union of a large number of distinct racial groups, with respect to many of which the system provides for modification or special approach, presents an aspect of the subject which can be covered only in the most general way. Within the limits of the time and facilities available for the study, emphasis has been placed on the central machinery, which, as will be seen, directs and aims to control not only the content of the material which is used for promoting civic interest but also all civic activities that are developed.

The statistical data used for this study must be accepted with reservation. The first census of the Soviet régime was made in December, 1926, and this was the first complete and thorough census of the country since 1897. In general the statistical estimates of these last years have been optimistic respecting the progress of the revolutionary institutions and ideas. Degrees of optimism in different departments have led to contradictory official statistics. However, in most instances it is possible to give more or less precise figures to indicate the scope of the particular institution which is being described.

While there are, therefore, these self-evident limitations on a study of Soviet methods of civic education, there are conditions in the Soviet Union and features of the Soviet political and economic régime which may be considered as peculiarly favorable for the study of this subject. In the first place, education and cultural development in general, and civic training and political education in particular, have recently come to be spoken of as the "third front" of the Revolution. In the estimate of the leaders of the Revolution the other two fronts—the military and the political—were finally won by 1921, after more than three years of constant and violent fighting. In order to pass to the next stage of the Revolution, that of construction, it became necessary to give previous forms of activity new direction and to promote more general activity in the masses. This was to be accomplished by developing, for example, "Soviet civic activity" and "Soviet democracy." Then, to prepare the next generation to carry on the principles of the Revolution, special attention was to be given to the education of children, and particularly to their civic training. Special effort had to be made in this matter because hostile economic forces had been allowed to redevelop in order to encourage the revival of

productive processes which had been shattered during the first years of the Revolution.

Civic training became an urgent political issue. The danger of the growth of a hostile ideology, on the basis of these hostile economic forces temporarily released, made the question of civic training immediate and important. Every possible channel and agency came to be used for the purposes of political propaganda and of civic education and training.

For the first years after 1921 the Soviet citizen was brought face to face with his "civic obligations" at every turn and in every phase of his life. There developed one of the most deliberate and extensive efforts to promote and direct civic activity. This study will try to cover the innumerable institutions of all kinds which came to be used to bring about an active mass participation in public affairs. Whole staffs of "agitation-propaganda-organizers" and "political-education-workers" were trained and organized. Not only was "Civics" to be emphasized in the curricula of all educational institutions from kindergarten to medical faculties of universities, but different kinds of "schools of political grammar" were set up. Lenin had said with respect to education in general, "We do not think of education as outside of our politics and very frankly subordinate it to our political aims."

Similarly the administration of justice was closely linked up with political propaganda, and in the activity of every institution there was emphasis on the "politics" of the Revolution, in order to win over the masses, step by step, from the old ideology of the overthrown so-called "bourgeois" order. The whole life of the country became penetrated with politics; there was politics in the constitution, in the decisions handed down by the law courts, in the labels on match boxes, in the new names of the streets, and in the motion-picture films.

In the Soviet Union the government of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is highly centralized and political leadership is concentrated in a "ruling party." This ruling body, the All-Union Communist party, has worked out a definite and detailed plan of civic training, and this with respect to a population of 147,000,000. The vast majority of the people have just awakened to political activity. Before the Revolution the Russian peasants secured a measure of political experience in their village institutions and through their participation in the elective local councils. They voted for the Imperial Duma from 1905 on. The workmen were allowed less opportunity of organization and class expression under the old régime. In both in-

stances the element of control by officials of another class was considerable, so that these limited political rights were exercised always under a kind of tutelage. Under the present system there is still, as we shall see, a control that suggests tutelage.

But these last years of war and Revolution have led to a marked increase of activity in the masses of peasants and workmen, and in the younger generation particularly. There are more possibilities for the expression of activeness, and it is encouraged and promoted as a feature of the Revolution. But activity of a particular kind only is encouraged, while certain forms are discouraged and even forcibly suppressed. The aim is to produce a particular type of citizen; and this aim often determines to a considerable degree the character of an institution, the emphasis in the possible activities of a group, or the subject matter where a program is required. The first chapter of this study will discuss the particular conception of citizenship which is the basis of the Soviet method of civic training. Under the "dictatorship of the proletariat" a definite conception of citizenship is more easily enforced. As a revolutionary authority the government can at once ignore or frankly attack traditional ideas or habits and freely introduce new institutions and ideas. A new type of citizen is to be produced, and one of the sources of enthusiasm for the work of civic training and for participation in civic activity is the constant claim that here in this field of effort something unique is being created.

Frankly fighting the traditions of the past and always recognizing the experimental nature of their effort, the political leaders of the Soviet Union have always been ready to change their methods when and where experience has shown clearly that the desired results were not being secured. The system of civic training, itself, provides for frequent checking as to progress and concrete attainment. These periodic inventories have greatly facilitated the gathering of material, and of themselves represent an interesting feature of the system. In the case of almost every institution it will be possible to note the abandonment of this or that practice; in some instances the expediency of an entire idea has been seriously questioned. The frank experimenting in this as in other fields of activity, which is the essence of the Revolution, makes the Soviet Union an interesting field for the study of civic training methods. It has become a commonplace to speak of Soviet Russia as a vast laboratory.

The development of leadership is one of the problems of civic training on which the Soviet system gives particularly valuable material. There is specific provision for leadership, which is not only as-

sumed by, but is legally secured to, particular groups. There is an undisputed leader, Lenin; and there is the widest use of the life and precepts of this one man to inspire and promote civic ideas and activities.

Thus while the limitations on the study of Soviet methods of civic training at this early stage of their development are evident and inescapable, an outline, at least, of what has been evolved to date, with the noting of changes already introduced on the basis of unusually free conditions for experimenting, is not only possible but would seem to be distinctly worth while. Such an outline will have to be limited in the main to the central directing bodies and forces, for it was impossible to follow down the channels of influence running out from these central bodies except in a few instances selected at random. It is too early definitely to judge of the results of the methods used, although certain conclusions can be drawn, and certain doubts expressed as to the efficacy of some of the methods used.

The rendering of the Russian terms has been one of peculiar difficulty. In order to emphasize new conceptions and institutions, the Communists have made new combinations of words and often have given to a word a special meaning. Part of the technique of the propaganda of the new ideas has been the constant repetition of certain words or expressions. In order to give the meaning which has become definitely attached to a given expression, it has been necessary not only to follow the practice of constantly repeating the same expression but also to give as literal a translation as possible. The words "toiler," "worker," and "workman," which constantly occur, require careful differentiation. "Workman" is used in this study to designate the manual industrial workman, and "worker" is reserved for such contexts as "party worker." "Toiler" is the rendering of a Russian word which includes all who live from their own labor without deriving profit from the exploitation of the labor of another; thus this broader term covers the office worker and agriculturist as well as the industrial workman. Institutions were given long names when they were first introduced, in order to emphasize their new and special character. As these titles were adopted for the purpose of securing a definite response from certain classes, it has been necessary constantly to repeat them as they are used. In certain contexts the Russian word *activnost* has been translated "activeness," to denote a state of mind as opposed to concrete activity. The word "bureaucratism" is employed under the influence of the Russian usage. *Politgramota* has been translated somewhat mechanically "political grammar"; the school or

textbook of political grammar combines a study of history and civics with social ethics.

This study is based on an extensive reading of the Soviet press and literature, supplemented by a visit of three months during the summer and autumn of 1926. The writer had been in Russia in the summer of 1917, during the so-called "Kerensky régime," and also in 1915 and 1916. Many previous visits, from 1904 on, in connection with the study of Russian affairs, gave a broad background on which it was possible to make comparisons, particularly in 1926 after some nine years of the new Soviet order. The printed sources used for this particular study have not been cited for every statement of fact or opinion; it was impossible to give the footnote reference in every instance. The source of the longer, basic quotations is always indicated in the text itself. The bibliography covers the newspapers and books read in connection with a general study of the Revolution and used particularly for this study. Two newspapers have been read consecutively and carefully, being selected as of particular importance for the subject of civic training. The first is the *Pravda*, which is the official, "directing" organ of the Communist party; it also has the largest and broadest circulation of the daily newspapers of the Soviet Union. The second periodical is the *Peasant Newspaper*, which is a weekly published by the party. Its circulation exceeds that of the *Pravda*, and it is the best example of the "mass newspaper." These two types of newspapers are described in the chapter on the periodical press. The official character of the press in general and of these two newspapers in particular makes them peculiarly authoritative on the subject of this study.

SAMUEL N. HARPER

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CHAPTER I

CITIZENSHIP IN THE SOVIET UNION

In the Soviet Union one has a very definite conception of citizenship, on the basis of which the body of citizens is divided into clear-cut categories. The main divisions of this citizenship are defined in the constitution and are observed in all legislation. The political as well as the economic groups therefore stand out in sharp relief. The conception of citizenship is further defined by the exclusion of certain social and economic groups from suffrage and other rights. All this is part of the revolutionary struggle which is to continue for a considerable period—for a generation at least—until the final triumph of the new order in which class divisions will have disappeared. For the present, however, the "class struggle" of the Marxian doctrine is given a literal and universal application; the class principle is the determining factor in citizenship under the Soviet system; it is the basis of the suffrage, and of practically all Soviet institutions. The chapters of this study will illustrate this fundamental principle as each of these institutions is taken up and discussed. The general character of the conception of citizenship which goes with the so-called "Soviet order" as it has been applied in Russia can be briefly summarized. It is necessary to have this general conception of citizenship constantly in mind as the particular subjects of party and other organizations are presented. An introductory discussion of this general subject is therefore advisable.

The Soviet citizen who is being organized, trained, and educated is the "citizen in production." One of the principles of the Soviet election law is occupational representation, the citizen voting at the place of his work and as a worker of a particular category. Admission to certain institutions, and position in others, is conditioned on what is called "production qualification," which supplements other qualifications, such as general education or technical knowledge; the candidate is required to show that he or she has been engaged in actual production in industry or agriculture. The programs and methods of teaching in all grades of educational institutions provide for close contact with the processes of production; from the earliest years the child is theoretically brought into actual productive activity within

the limit of its ability. It is the aim so to organize even leisure that it will be usefully employed, and this means that even play is to be productive. The "purposeful setting" for all activity, to which there will be constant reference in this study, has in mind either actual production or training for such. Only the producer may be a Soviet citizen, and the Soviet citizen must be a definite factor in the processes of production.

This emphasis on production follows in general from the socialist doctrine of Karl Marx, which is the basis of the thinking of the political leaders in the Soviet Union. The relation of present-day Leninism to Marxism will be discussed later. All Communists are Marxists and must pass examinations in the Marxian doctrine. Non-Communists holding certain positions must also show a knowledge of the writings and teachings of Karl Marx. In time the teachers of mathematics in the higher educational institutions are to be Marxists, and already Marxian economists and historians hold the key positions in teaching and writing. The youth and children are being educated on the principles of Karl Marx; the new textbooks are based on the materialistic interpretation of history. One of the terms of the formula which has been widely adopted as the basis of the programs of study in educational institutions is "dialectic materialism," and the aim is to train up a generation of materialists.

The present stage of the Revolution represents the beginning of the "building of the socialistic order," as a step to Communism. It is not claimed that even this first stage has been attained. Even within the Soviet Union there is the capitalistic environment of some twenty-four million peasant households with their sharply individualistic tendencies. In internal trade and even in industrial production private enterprise is present, representing hostile economic forces which still must be fought and conquered. Thus the class struggle must continue, as the two elements in the economic life of the country—the socialistic and the capitalistic—compete and struggle for complete victory. Although it is claimed that the socialistic sector is gaining on the capitalistic, the need of continued and constant struggle is one of the political slogans. To this end certain types of organizations are developed and promoted, and one of the methods of struggle is organization. A second term of the formula is "organizationist," and even children are to be taught to act in an organized way, just as workmen and peasants are helped and even compelled to become members of all kinds of organizations. The multiplicity and variety of organizations will appear in the later chapters. One of the duties of the

Soviet citizen is participation in organizations which in turn help to enforce the Soviet conception of citizenship.

Collectivist practices must develop if the struggle between the two contending principles is to result in the victory of the socialistic. Collective effort in everyday economic activity is given every encouragement, and in instances special privileges. The child is led into collectivist methods in his school work and in his play. There would seem to be a Soviet type of physical-culture training which discourages selfish individualism. The future Soviet citizen in the process of training is to be also a collectivist, to give the third term of the formula. In its economic policy the Soviet government is using the co-operative movement to combat private trade. The revival and further growth of the co-operative movement during the last two or three years represent very practical results of the emphasis on collectivism in the Soviet conception of citizenship.

The building of the socialistic order is the next objective of the Revolution and is a revolutionary task. The problems to be met and solved are the prosaic ones of everyday work and of production. These tasks represent a less exciting and inspiring kind of activity than was the seizure of power, or the suppression of opposition, or the driving-out of internal and foreign enemies. The heroic period of the Revolution has passed, and the movement has reached a more important, though less dramatic, stage in its progress. But enthusiasm, and even a certain kind of heroism, is considered necessary to carry on what is constantly interpreted as a struggle between opposing ideas. There is still the need to fight for the principles of the Revolution. Artificial pathos is repudiated and discouraged wherever it manifests itself. Lenin once said that "weak sentimentalism in a Revolutionary is equivalent to cowardice in a soldier at the front trenches." But there may and must be revolutionary enthusiasm (sometimes called "proletarian enthusiasm"), and it is kept alive by various methods. The younger generation, which does not carry scars of tsarism and of the period of underground, illegal revolutionary work, or did not participate in the active fighting of the first years of the Revolution, is being brought up on the heroic events of the history of the Revolution. For they too must be "fighters," of another kind but nevertheless with the spirit and enthusiasm of toilers engaged in a constant and active struggle. Some are being trained to be "professional revolutionaries," to inspire and lead. But mass activity is the ultimate aim, and the revolutionary leaders insist that for them the measure of any achievement is precisely the extent to which it comes as the result

of the activity of the masses. So there must be mass activity in the direction of the aims of the Revolution. The fourth and last term of this current formula for the conception of citizenship is "revolutionary activist."

Although freedom of worship exists under the Soviets, the church has been removed from all contact with education. The imparting of religious training in organized classes to minors is a criminal offense. Religious associations registered under Soviet law are forbidden to exercise any "administrative functions," which presumably means that they can exist only for the purposes of worship and cannot engage in any kind of social service activity. The Soviet constitution established freedom of both religious and atheistic propaganda, and the governmental authorities insist that the Soviet government takes an absolutely neutral stand with respect to religious belief and atheism. On the other hand the members of the ruling Communist party must be active atheists, and organizations working under the Communist party among the young people and children are also militantly atheistic. These are the materialists, young and old, already produced. At the same time there is the constant effort to keep alive the spirit of revolution, and revolutionary activism and the heroism of struggle are basic elements in the moral side of the training of citizens and future citizens.

For the development of revolutionary "activism," the Communist leaders use also the aims of the Revolution outside the territory of the Soviet Union. They are themselves only a section of that larger body of international scope, the Communist International. Other organizations also are on an international basis, the members being urged always to think of themselves as citizens of the world. In theory the essence of the Revolution is internationalism, and this international aspect of the Soviet methods of civic training will be referred to in practically every chapter. On this point, for this introductory outline, one must note the attitude of the Soviet leaders toward the question of world-revolution. In the first years of the Revolution the spread of the revolutionary movement was expected in the very near future; Lenin's many statements to this effect leave no doubt on this point. The "revolutionary possibilities" in other countries in the years immediately following the war were used to inspirit the movement in Russia. Then it was recognized that there had been an ebb in the tide of revolution. But the Soviet leaders, as revolutionaries, insist that the stabilization of the capitalistic order in the rest of the world is only temporary and that the world-revolution is historically inevita-

ble. The fact that fully normal relations with the outside world have not been established, even where formal recognition has been accorded and diplomatic and trade relations resumed, supports the constant picturing of the two opposed camps, the Soviet Union on the one hand and the rest of the world on the other. This opposition is represented as an irreconcilable hostility. Support to a strike in another country or to a revolutionary nationalist movement is thus made the civic duty of a revolutionary.

This view of the relations between the Soviet Union and the governments of so-called "capitalistic" countries leads to the belief in the menace of direct intervention by the "enemy." It is asserted that success in the building of the socialistic order in the Soviet Union will make such intervention practically inevitable, as the enemy cannot afford to permit such success. Thus the Soviet citizens must organize and future citizens must train themselves to defend the "conquests of the Revolution." There develops an attitude which is a type of nationalism and which is given a prominent place in the Soviet conception of citizenship.

The dividing of the citizens of the Soviet Union into sharp and clearly defined categories follows directly from this conception of citizenship. It must be borne in mind always that these categories are temporary for the period of revolution. At present one has the continuation of the class struggle in a progressing social revolution. It is the economic group that is taken as the fundamental basis for the classification of the community.

The economic groups, each of which will be constantly noted in its particular place in the Soviet institutions and in its group organizations, are rather clearly definable in the comparatively simple structure of an economically backward and predominantly agricultural country. The "proletariat" is primarily the industrial workman, but the term is used to include workmen in transportation. At times, as we shall see, the word "workman" is used to designate the manual laborer in actual production, or the "bench-workman" as he is called when precision is desired. The workman holding an elective position in the Soviets or in trade-union bodies is still a bench-workman. On the other hand, when he has permanently withdrawn from work at a bench or machine, he passes into another class, to be noted later. The usually accepted estimate of the size of the workman class, or proletariat, is about 3,500,000. The most distinctive feature of the Russian workman of the past, which still holds for the Soviet workman of today, is his continued contact with the class from which

he came, the peasantry. In view of the comparatively recent industrialization of Russia, the Russian workman remains in touch with the peasant village of his origin. During the crisis in industry, of the first years of the Revolution, the workman class disintegrated and the larger number of the scattered factory workmen simply returned to their former peasant communities. These have now come back, for the most part, to factory work. With the shortage of work in the villages today there has started a fresh movement of young peasants to the urban and industrial centers, and these will contribute to the maintenance of the strong peasant influence on the factory workmen.

The peasantry falls into three distinct groups, and this differentiation is the basis for legal enactments as well as administrative practices. The largest group is that of the "middle peasant," who is flanked on either side by the "rich peasant"—the *kulak* or "fist"—and the "poor peasant." A peasant is classified as poor, middle, or rich according to the acreage which his household cultivates, his equipment in live stock and implements, and supplementary non-agricultural sources of income. In general, the rich peasant is the one who hires other labor to cultivate his holding in land or for other kinds of work, or engages in trade or small-scale industrial production. The rich peasant is considered a bourgeois, exploiting element, and as such is deprived of some of the rights of citizenship, as we shall see. On the other hand, this bourgeois element in the peasantry has a different political and legal status from that of the bourgeois element of the urban center, for the rich peasant is in most cases himself a cultivator of the soil, and as such must be accepted as a producer.

The poor peasant, on the other hand, is classed as the proletarian, or at least semiproletarian, element in the rural community. He is the bulwark of the proletarian dictatorship within the peasantry. However, he is not always a landless element; he lives in the village, and has his small acreage, although he may not be able to cultivate it fully or properly because of his poverty in live stock and equipment. He may hire out as an agricultural laborer to a neighbor, or seek temporary work for a period of the year in state or private enterprises of a non-agricultural character. Under such circumstances he is known as a *batrak*, a journeyman workman among peasants, and is being unionized as a wage-earning class. But his legal place of residence in a peasant village and the predominantly agricultural character of his economic activity put him into the general category of the peasantry, as one of the groups of the class as a whole.

The middle peasant, as the term implies, is the central group. He constitutes the majority group of the peasantry. Often the word "peasantry" is used to mean the middle peasant only, for the rich peasant is more than a peasant in the sense of an agriculturist, and the poor peasant is not able to be an independent agriculturist, and economically has much in common with the workman class. The political grouping of the Soviet community will show how the middle peasants represent a distinct class and how, at the same time, they are taken as representative of the peasantry as an economic group, distinct in respect of economic interests from the bourgeoisie on the one hand and the proletariat on the other.

For the determination of class in the peasantry there are the objective criteria, such as the number of head of cattle or horses owned, the amount and character of the other equipment, as well as amount of land held and cultivated. The use of hired labor outside of the family is also one of the bases for classification. However, even with these concrete bases the classification in fact is often arbitrary, being determined by the ruling group, that is, by the executive board of the village Soviet and the local Communists. Often there will be a debate over the question of classifying a given individual as a middle or rich peasant. If Ivanov was seen selling grain he may be put down as engaged in trade, and therefore as a rich peasant, even though it was his own surplus production of grain that he was selling. A newspaper report told of the transfer of a certain individual to the category of the rich peasants because of a photograph showing him standing by a well-dressed companion. As it turned out, the companion was not a private trader as assumed, but a high Soviet official.

There has not been found a single term adequate to cover the third main economic group of the Soviet class system. Frequently the word "worker" is met, in distinction to "workman," and is used to cover this group, which is doing "socially useful work." This group is often spoken of as the "toiling intelligentsia" and, as part of the army of "toilers," enjoys the rights of citizenship. One of the most important elements in this group is the professional man or woman—the teacher, the specialist, in medicine, law, economics, or other technical pursuits. In the state-owned nationalized economic enterprises the directors or managers are "workers." The office staffs of Soviet governmental and economic institutions, the vast bureaucracy of the Soviet system, are also called "Soviet employees." Corresponding workers in the co-operatives and trade-unions have practically the same political and social status as state employees. Finally, the party workers who

devote all of their time to administration and, similarly, full-time workers in other political or civic organizations are brought into this single group. Their economic interest is the office work of a public or civic, as opposed to a private commercial, institution. Organizers and propagandists in the party, trade-unions, co-operative societies, and the many civic organizations are technically "toiling intelligentsia." This term "workers" will be used here to include all these groups which do not perform manual labor but are associated with production or trade as employees without the possibility of exploiting the labor of another for individual profit.

The fourth and last economic group of the Soviet system includes all the various "bourgeois" or capitalistic elements. The old landlord class has at last been completely eliminated. As late as 1925 it was discovered that a thousand or more of this class, holding a few thousand acres, had in some way escaped the land nationalization. These have been finally expropriated, and in every case deported from the locality of their former land-ownership. All former owners of industrial or commercial enterprises were thought to have been expropriated during the first years of the Revolution, and it was assumed that the old capitalist class also had disappeared. But in 1927 it was discovered that some ten small manufacturing enterprises in Moscow, employing from forty to sixty workmen each, had been going on as private businesses, also having somehow escaped the notice of the authorities. The old bourgeoisie as an economic class may be said to have disappeared within the territory of the Soviet Union, although in conversation or on the stage one hears of the "incompletely slaughtered bourgeoisie" as one of the social groups of the Soviet system.

On the other hand, there has grown up the so-called "Soviet bourgeoisie," a new bourgeois class. In 1921, in order to secure the resumption of production, concessions were made to capitalistic principles. Being the outgrowth of the "Nep," as the New Economic Policy of 1921 is generally abbreviated, this class has come to be called the "nepmen." Small manufacturing concerns were turned over to individuals on a concession basis, to be run for individual profit. Sometimes the former owner received back his small factory, not as a matter of right, but on a new basis strictly defined in the terms of the concession. Individuals could engage in trade and organize trading companies. The small shopkeeper could resume business always under new and strictly enforced regulations. It is said that several individuals have "made their million" in the last years. One finds everywhere these nepmen, controlling and deriving profit from a small factory, a

small workshop, or a store. In the villages the rich peasant who engages in trade or small business, as described above, is a nepman. Private restaurants have been opened, and private stores do business side by side with state or co-operative stores in peasant villages as well as in the cities. Through a system of licenses and a policy of special taxation these new representatives of a bourgeois class are registered, watched, and strictly controlled. There are many and detailed regulations to which they must comply. In connection with elections, they must be listed individually, and such lists publicly posted. It is against this economic group that the "class struggle" is directed, so that the presence of this element in the economic life furnishes one of the bases for the development of civic activity on the part of the other economic groups.

The home-industry worker, the *kustar*, who works on his own without recourse to hired assistance, is not a "bourgeois"; he is contributing constructively to the building of the socialist order. Through the co-operative disposal of his products it is believed that he will be brought to the first step toward socialism. He must have only bona fide members of his family assist him in his "household industry," however. In view of the many instances where the hiring of labor has been concealed by the claim of family relationship, local authorities are instructed to supervise carefully the *kustars* to prevent such abuse.

The political groups of the Soviet community are made even more clear-cut and definite, not only by the policies adopted by the leaders of the Revolution but also by Soviet laws. The political grouping cuts across the economic grouping under the Soviet conception of citizenship. Here again it is necessary to outline briefly the general subject before taking up one by one the institutions that come within the scope of this study.

In the first place there is only one so-called "party" under the Soviet system, the Communist party. The next chapter will discuss the character of this organization and show how different it is from the political parties of Western Europe and America. The members of what is called the "party," numbering about one and a quarter million at the end of 1927, may be best described in this connection as the citizens with conscious responsibility. They enjoy a monopoly of legality, being the only group with political organization and press. At the same time, the Communists are expected to assume special obligations as citizens and to be always the leaders in any group; a Communist has to perform a certain minimum of civic activity. The Communists therefore represent a kind of super-citizenship, the pre-

cise character of which will be one of the points to be emphasized throughout this study. The present membership is about 50 per cent workmen, 20 per cent peasants, and 30 per cent toiling intelligentsia. Nepmen of all categories are excluded from membership, and a member will be expelled for becoming a nepman. The policy is to maintain the workman predominance in the party, and therefore it is very hard for an intellectual to gain admission. On the other hand, the middle peasant is admitted on an equality with the poor peasant, and the Red army soldier is admitted on the same terms as a bench-workman. The conditions of admission will be discussed in detail under the "Communist Party."

Although all Communists are expected to be active citizens, degrees of activity are noted within the party. There is the division into what is termed the "active" element as opposed to a "passive" element. We shall find this classification into active and passive widely applied, as one of the features of the Soviet conception of citizenship. The party active element is made up of the members holding elective positions in party organizations, and is the leadership within the party itself. All are, however, party members; and party membership is a matter of record, of which it is customary and generally expedient to make inquiry. All other citizens are spoken of as "non-party." This strict division into party and non-party citizens is the most important political differentiation of the Soviet system.

The non-party or non-Communist peasants and workmen and the toiling intelligentsia of peasant and workman origin are treated as one group politically, although, as we shall see, workmen are preferentially represented in the Soviets as compared with peasants. These citizens are generally called simply the "non-party masses." Within this group there is also the general division already noted, the active element and passive element, of workmen, peasants, or toiling intelligentsia. The "actif," to use the Russian adoption from the French, is composed of those who are elected to Soviets, Conferences of Delegates of Workingwomen and Peasant Women, committees of trade-unions and co-operatives, or of clubs and village reading-rooms. Therefore participation in the management and direction of an institution or organization defines this so-called "actif." The ultimate aim is to bring all workmen, peasants, and toiling intelligentsia into active political and civic life. Constantly one meets the phrase that Lenin used in the first years of the Revolution: "Under the Soviets the kitchen cook should be able to learn to run the government." The many organizations of political, economic, or civic character aim to develop

this activity. Frequent elections and the policy of bringing in new persons at each re-election contribute to the constant growth of the "actif." An interesting practice of "pushing forward" the more active elements furnishes an incentive to workmen and peasants. In time, therefore, the "passif" will disappear, with the final success of the Revolution.

There remains a last, small group which must be noted in a discussion of the political groupings under the Soviet system. Although managers, directors, and technical experts from the workman and peasant masses are being trained in administrative positions as well as in educational institutions, many of the professionally and technically trained men and women of the old régime are being used in important positions in state institutions, either administrative or economic. The Red director, Red professor, or Red military commander is always at the highest responsible post in a state trust, a university, or a regiment. These are always Communists, as are all the heads of departments of commissariats. Under these "responsible Communists" are specialists or experts, and these technical staffs often are of "bourgeois" origin. One of the functions of these *spetsy*, to use the current abbreviation of the Russianized form of "specialist," is to train up the young experts of workman and peasant origin, particularly the Communists, who are assigned to work in the particular institution. Thus in time the old *spetsy* will no longer be needed.

During the first months of the Revolution many of the *spetsy* and intelligentsia showed by sabotage practices that they were opposed to the new order. Their services were required, however, and they were mobilized or indirectly compelled to put their technical knowledge and training at the disposal of the new order. There was a form of nationalization of brains. After a few years these technical experts of bourgeois origin were believed to have accepted the new order as a matter of conscience and were granted the rights of citizenship, being allowed to vote in Soviet elections, join trade-unions and co-operatives, contribute technical articles to periodicals, and in general enter actively into the economic and cultural life of the community. But the older element and also, to a certain extent, the younger element which had received its education under the old régime were expected to remain more or less passive politically. Assertiveness on the part of these *spetsy* was frowned upon, or at least was not encouraged, as in the case of the non-party masses. There is therefore a group with full rights of citizenship which politically is deliberately, or even by compulsion, passive. In conversation in 1926 one heard a

term used to designate this group that had become more or less current, namely, the "professional passif." The Soviet system aims to reduce the "mass passif" while it creates this particular group of "passif."

The discussion within the party during 1926–27 touched on the question of the position and rôle of the technical expert. The so-called Shakhta case at the beginning of 1928 brought the question to a practical issue. In this case some fifty engineers and technical experts holding important posts in the nationalized coal industry were accused of "economic counter-revolution." They were charged with deliberately working to disorganize and disrupt the mines, destroy machinery, and discredit the Soviet administration in the eyes of the workmen by creating unfair and unbearable conditions of work for the latter. This "Shakhta conspiracy" would seem to have been an isolated instance of disloyalty; but in analyzing the situation, the Communists contended that the activity of those involved had an "ideological" basis. Some of those accused denied guilt, while others admitted disloyalty. In the winter of 1927–28 there was another local and special situation illustrating the position of the *spetsy*. In Moscow many doctors were registered at the labor exchange as unemployed, while at the same time the provinces were begging for medical personnel. This anomalous situation aroused much discussion. Measures to improve the material position of medical workers in the provinces failed to solve the situation. Administrative pressure was not exerted, except to drop from the list of applicants for positions and from membership in the trade-union those who refused to go to a provincial post. This was a rather clear instance of deliberate passivity on the part of a group of technical experts.

The political status of the technical expert under the Soviet régime is in point here. The *spetsy* are expected to work, not formally and in a purely bureaucratic way from task to task, but with creative technical initiative. It is recognized that they must therefore be guaranteed conditions that will allow of the possibility of such creative work. The technical expert is considered guilty of uneconomic methods and is punished for this only when his acts aim consciously to injure the Soviet economic policy or are dictated by selfish motives, or finally if there is a deliberate inaction. Mistakes and failures occurring despite a conscientious attitude toward his work serve only for the evaluation of the worth of the specialist and not as the basis for criminal prosecution, it is authoritatively explained. But a similarly

authoritative definition has come from the party leaders as to the political position of this group. The Communist group in any institution or organization, constituting the responsible leadership, must take an attitude of "healthy Communist suspicion" toward the *spetsy* in order to guarantee the proper proletarian control, although conferences of engineers and of other *spetsy* have adopted resolutions strongly protesting against the disloyalty of the Shakhta engineers and voicing their own absolute loyalty to the Soviet order, its principles, and the leadership of the party.

Finally, there is a distinct category of persons who are denied all political rights and are limited also in their civic rights. These may indeed be spoken of as non-citizens. Representatives of the old bourgeoisie come under this category, particularly former landlords and factory-owners. In addition to the loss of their economic position, as the former "ruling classes" they are deprived of all political rights. High officials in the old bureaucracy, and particularly all who were connected with the former police, and the clergy of all denominations are classed with the old bourgeoisie. The number of such is not considerable, but there is always much publicity and propaganda when representatives of the old bourgeoisie happen to come to notice. At the elections of 1927 a half a dozen of these attempted to vote in Leningrad, with its claimed electorate of 1,300,000, and the newspapers were filled with articles and cartoons on the subject. Some who are technically of this group have acquired Soviet citizenship as *spetsy* in state institutions.

The new bourgeoisie which has been allowed to develop under the Soviet laws also is deprived of the rights of citizenship. Not only the new large-scale trader or manufacturer but also the small village shopkeeper or the peasant engaged in local trade is forbidden to vote, to become a member of a trade-union, or to belong to co-operative societies. It would be incorrect to speak of these as outlaws, but in practice they seem to be outside the law in many respects. In the elections of 1925 many of these nepmen were allowed to vote by the local authorities, so new instructions for the elections of 1927 ordered the rigid application of the provisions of the constitution enumerating the classes deprived by law of the suffrage. These instructions gave a fuller and somewhat broader interpretation of these provisions of the constitution. Thus the existence of a category of non-citizens under the Soviet system was stressed. It is part of the function of Com-

munist leadership to see that these groups remain politically passive, particularly when they are able to attain a certain economic position on the basis of which they might develop political activity and influence. The exclusion from suffrage, from co-operative organizations, or at least from any active participation in the latter, are the main instrumentalities for enforcing this passivity. Experience has shown that the full enforcement of the policy requires constant pressure from the leadership.

The discussion of the political and civic organizations for children and youth and of the educational institutions will show the extent to which the class principle is applied with respect to future citizens. Thus the categories of citizenship based on the economic and political groupings are applied to the youth and children, although with less rigor. The young boy of "bourgeois" origin, the son of a village shopkeeper for example, is admitted to the Communist Union of Youth. The Pioneer movement is open to children of all classes. However, the class character of the Soviet order is so definite that the class principle is applicable even to the youth and the children.

The summary of the Soviet conception of citizenship given here covers roughly the development to the end of 1926. At the beginning of 1927 there were to be noted several minor but significant new practices bearing on the question of class rights and status. While the enforcement of the disfranchisement of the bourgeois element was more rigorous during the elections of 1927, there seemed to be a more lenient attitude toward this class in other respects. Thus, in applying for positions at the state labor exchanges, the individual was no longer required to state his or her past social status or class. At the party conference of 1926 it was resolved to permit the literary "fellow-travelers," the specialists in literature, wider freedom in the choice of subject matter and in literary criticism. Finally, there was a campaign in the workmen's newspapers to give to the "specialist" inventor the same incentive of reward that it had been the practice to give to the workman inventor. These facts pointed to a less strict application of the class principle. But by the winter of 1927–28, in connection with the dispute within the party leadership, economic difficulties, and particularly the famous Shakhta case mentioned above, brought a stronger emphasis on the class principle. A system of rigid class divisions is the basis of the Soviet order in practically all its aspects and leads to the system of categories of citizens. This system implies a kind of super-citizenship on the one hand and a non-citizen-

ship on the other. The non-citizens are looked upon as an active hostile force, and their activity is curtailed. The super-citizen is under obligation to engage in prescribed civic activity. The aim is to bring the masses into constant and effective civic activity and thus establish the new "Soviet democracy." The utmost contempt is expressed for what is termed the "mere inhabitant," who lacks all class consciousness and is indifferent to the principles and politics of the Revolution. The ideal of citizenship is the "stalwart, revolutionary, Communist fighter."

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIK)

The Communist party is not only the ruling party in the Soviet government but it is also the only legal party under the Soviet system enjoying a monopoly of legality. Further, the Communist party has maintained its unity despite several acute disputes between groups of leaders. The future may bring the development of factions within the party and the introduction of the party system known to other countries, but at present the Communist party is the "one and only" political organization under the Soviets and is "one and united." The unquestioned achievement of Lenin as a revolutionary leader was the founding and building up of the Communist party; it is a "Lenin" party, its members are "Leninists," and its principles and rules of conduct are spoken of as "Leninism." The attitude toward the leader which has developed since his death in 1924 will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

The Communist party insists on maintaining its monopoly of legality and its unity at the urgent command of its founder. Of all the Russian socialist parties of the pre-revolutionary period, it alone accepts the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat as worked out under the Soviet system. The insistence on absolute unity follows from the view that the Revolution is still in progress, its aims as yet not having been attained.

The members of the Communist party therefore enjoy a privileged political position. They hold all the responsible posts in the Soviet government, the directorships or managerships of practically all state economic enterprises, and the controlling positions in all non-governmental civic organizations. Through these official positions they control the press and publication activity in general. The privileged position of the party carries corresponding responsibility. In the summary of the categories of citizens which the Soviet system has produced, the Communist was described as the citizen with conscious responsibility, and in the discussion it has already been suggested that the Communist is a kind of super-citizen. Membership in the party is never concealed, and in fact is always emphasized. In the preliminary questioning of the accused or witness in a court of law, after the name,

age, residence, and class status have been asked, the next question is, "Are you a member of the party?" In the relations of everyday life it is usual and normal to ascertain by the direct question whether one is talking with a party member. As we shall see, membership in the Communist Union of Youth (Komsomol) is similarly a matter of constant inquiry and open acknowledgment. The origin and development of the Communist party, its structure and organization, the special training provided for its members, and the position and rôle of Lenin in the party will define the status of the Communist in relation to the rest of the Soviet citizens.

The first general and formal organization of the socialistic tendencies in Russia to accept the teachings of Karl Marx came in 1898. At a small secret meeting of delegates there was founded the Russian Workmen's Social Democratic party, generally referred to as the Social Democratic party. Its leadership was mainly in the groups of Russian revolutionaries who had taken up residence abroad after escape from Russian or Siberian prisons or in voluntary exile. In 1903 a second congress of the party was called, which convened in Stockholm but was transferred and continued in London. At these congresses sharp discussion over certain minor points soon led to a definite split on fundamental issues. The two groups continued to call themselves Social Democrats, but designated their respective factions as "majority faction" and "minority faction," from the vote at the congresses. Subsequently the numerical strength of the two factions was reversed, but the names based on the first split were retained. The majority faction called itself the Russian Workmen's Social Democratic party (Bolshevik), and the minority faction became the Russian Workmen's Social Democratic party (Menshevik).

The views taken in 1903 by the Bolshevik faction on the questions of organization and tactics were to determine the character of this group, from which the present Communist party developed. In this dispute the leader of the Bolsheviks was Lenin, and so he was the founder of the party in the strict sense of the word. Lenin insisted that the revolutionary struggle which these Russian socialists envisaged in the political conditions of that period in Russia required an organization of a particular type. According to Lenin a revolutionary party must be centralized and welded by a strict discipline; particularly its membership must be restricted to active workers as opposed to mere sympathizers. Active workers were only such as reported regularly on the accomplishment of definite, assigned tasks. Thus restriction on membership and obligation of activity were the distin-

guishing traits of this political organization from its very beginning. These principles of organization were in fact the basis for the development of the Bolshevik faction. On the question of tactics the Bolshevik faction insisted on a more literal and rigorous application of the principle of class struggle and on a correspondingly more uncompromising attitude toward other political tendencies or groups, especially those of a non-socialist or non-revolutionary character.

In the revolution of 1904–6 the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, as they were generally called by this date, sometimes co-operated and sometimes were in opposition. Intermediary tendencies developed, assuming an organized character either temporarily or locally. The two factions subsequently decided to participate in the elections to the national parliament which was one of the results of the political movement of 1904–6, and the Social Democrats in the Duma from 1907 on were always designated officially as "Social Democrat (Bolshevik)" and "Social Democrat (Menshevik)." Under the leadership of Lenin, who was in forced residence abroad, the Bolshevik faction adhered to its principles of organization and tactics, although its members in the Duma not infrequently worked and voted with the larger Menshevik group of Social Democrats.

With the outbreak of the World War the differences of policy and tactics of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks became more marked, both in the Duma and in the activity, literary and organizational, of the leaders abroad. The Bolsheviks vigorously opposed the war and refused to accept it as a war of defense, as did many of the Russian socialists. On this point Lenin and his followers attacked the Social Democrats of other countries, with whom they were associated as fellow-members of the II International. Lenin saw treason to the Marxian principles of social democracy in the war policies and activities of these other socialist parties, and became even more convinced of the correctness of the principles for which he had stood and fought. As a result he worked to reinforce these principles in his own Russian Bolshevik faction and to gain adherents to them among the left-wing elements in the socialist ranks of other countries. Lenin was one of the main initiators of the Zimmerwald and Klienthal conferences of 1915 and 1916, in the resolutions of which he was able to inject his ideas of tactics and also of organization.

After the first revolution of February, 1917, Lenin was able to return to his country and followers, after an exile of more than ten years. One of the first tasks to which he set himself was to straighten out and enforce the line of tactics of his followers; he found that they

had swerved considerably from the principles of the Bolshevik group as he had been elaborating them in Switzerland and dictating them from abroad. He insisted on the necessity of applying more rigorously the Bolshevik principles of organization, and to this task he devoted much time, assisted by the absolute freedom of speech and press of the first months of the Revolution. The new institution which had emerged with the Revolution, the Soviet of Workmen's and Soldier's Deputies, furnished a field in which the principles could be applied in a more practical way and on a wider scale than had been possible under the political conditions of the old tsarist régime.

Considering the revolution of February, 1917, as only a first stage of revolution, Lenin had the next stage as an objective in his work on party organization. The fundamental principles of organization for which he had always contended among his followers as well as against his opponents seemed to him of vital importance. He resisted the temptations offered by the mass awakening to political life of this revolutionary period, and would not depart from his ideas with regard to party membership and go out for quantity as opposed to quality of membership. In the first months of the February revolution the Bolshevik faction numbered not more than 30,000. This was the membership that had been built up during the preceding decade under the difficult conditions of the old régime, when the Bolsheviks had been at one and the same time a legal and a conspirative, underground organization. From July, 1917, on, the Bolsheviks, and particularly their leaders, including Lenin himself, had been forced again to adopt underground methods when the provisional government under Kerensky undertook to repress their tactics for "deepening and extending the Revolution." These conditions in part contributed to the fact that the membership increased comparatively slowly during these months. But the very limited increase in numbers of the Bolsheviks as compared with other political groups such as the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries was due also to a deliberate policy of restriction and control of membership. Thus by October, at the moment of the Bolshevik revolution, the total membership was not more than 200,000. At the time of its leadership of the October seizure of power the party still carried the name of Russian Workmen's Social Democratic party (Bolshevik).

Although joined by a left-wing group of the Socialist Revolutionaries formed only after the Bolshevik revolution, the Bolsheviks represented the only organized element in the government set up by the revolution of October. The Left Socialist Revolutionaries with-

drew from all official positions by April, 1918. In July of that same year all other socialist groups were practically excluded even from participation in the Soviets. Individual Mensheviks continued to be elected to Soviets and to participate as Mensheviks in the debates. The monopoly of legality of the one party became established in point of fact within the first year, although it was not formally acknowledged and enforced until later. Within this first year also came the change in the official title of the party. The words "Social Democratic" were dropped, in part because they continued to be used by opponents and by socialist parties outside of Russia which opposed the Bolshevik theories and methods. Moreover, it was thought that the character and aim of the party could be more clearly designated in its name. So the new name, "Russian Communist party (Bolshevik)," was adopted officially. There was authority for the use of this term in the writings of Marx. The term "Bolshevik" was always added in parentheses, even in official documents, because it had become the current name, abroad as well as in Russia. "Bolshevism" soon came to represent a particular method of organization as well as a particular doctrine; and there was constant reference to the "Bolshevization" of Communist parties of other countries. After the formation of the "Union of Socialist Soviet Republics" the name was changed to "All-Union Communist party." The current abbreviation for the name became "Vay-Ka-Pay," from the three initial letters of the full name. As the only party under the Soviet system, it is generally referred to simply as the "party."

The success of the seizure of power, and the assumption of full leadership of the new period of revolution, dictated an increase of formal party membership. These same factors made many desire to become members of the ruling group. During the course of the next years new members were rather freely admitted, particularly in 1920, the last year of acute internal struggle. By that date the membership had reached the high peak of about 627,000.

With the adoption of the New Economic Policy in 1921 an opposite tendency set in; and after a complete reregistration of all members, accompanied by a general purging, the membership was reduced to about 400,000. Elements which had attached themselves to the party for purposes of selfish gain or which had been admitted without proper verification during the years of fighting were thus weeded out. With concessions to hostile economic forces it was the policy to establish still more effectively the Communist control of the "commanding heights" of the economic field, and to accomplish this it was necessary

to control the membership of the Communist party. Again quality rather than quantity was to be sought. This policy has continued to date, being applied even more strictly during the last years. The only exception to be noted was the admission, in 1924–25, of 200,000 bench-workmen, to be known as the "Lenin contingent," in commemoration of the leader who had just died. The contingent also was to increase the proportion of actual workmen in the party.

In the winter of 1925–26 certain opposition tendencies within the party advocated the freer admission of workmen, but this proposal was defeated. By the beginning of 1926 the party had 637,000 full-rights members and 381,000 so-called "candidate-members." During 1926 only 133,000 new members were admitted. A reregistration of the entire membership in 1927 brought the resignation or exclusion of about 46,000. In July, 1927, the membership of the party, including candidate-members, was about 1,100,000. Then, during the winter of 1927–28 another special contingent of workmen was brought into the party in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Revolution. A definite campaign was instituted to organize properly this selection of new members. Selection was made first of all on the basis of political activity and then on the basis of production qualification. The candidate was to be free of "small-property psychology" or any connection with property. It was also specified in the instructions that the candidate must have been engaged in large-scale production. Peasants who recently came from the villages as fresh recruits to the class of industrial workmen, and office workers and members of the toiling intelligentsia were not included in the new contingent. It was pointed out that these latter might be most loyally devoted to the party and its principles but that they lacked the proletarian class-tempering given by years of participation in the proletarian struggle in close contact with a mass collective of workmen. This special group of new members and a small number of admissions under the general rules brought the total membership, including candidates, to about 1,300,000 at the beginning of 1928.

This cursory outline of the origin and growth of the Communist party aims to bring out only certain features of its organization (such as restriction and control of membership) which had characterized it from its origin and throughout its development. The requirement of active participation in revolutionary work and the enforcement of an "iron discipline" are secured by the conditions of admission, the reregistrations, and the provisions for expulsion from the party. It is to be noted that the discipline within the party is alleged

to be conscious rather than compulsory—a "proletarian discipline," which is considered characteristic of any proletarian organization, being based on a clear understanding of the tasks which confront such an organization. The very terms of admission make clear the obligations which the applicant presumably is prepared to assume when he or she becomes the Communist.

Admission to the party must be preceded by a period of so-called "candidacy," the period varying according to the class status of the applicant. Young people under twenty years of age, with the exception of Red army soldiers, enter the party only through the Communist Union of Youth. Three categories are set up for the formalities of admission to candidacy. To the first category belong workmen and Red army soldiers of workman and peasant origin. This first category is further divided into two groups, the first of which includes industrial workmen occupied constantly in physical labor. They must have as sponsors two party members, each of one-year party standing. The second group consists of workmen other than industrial workmen, peasants serving in the Red army, and agricultural laborers, the so-called *batraks*. The two sponsors for this group of applicants must have a two-year party standing. For both groups of this first category the period of candidacy is not less than six months. The second category includes peasants other than those actually serving in the Red army, and artisans who do not exploit the labor of another. Individuals of these classes must have three sponsors, each of two years of membership in the party, and they must be candidates for at least one year. The third category is indicated simply as "others (employees, etc.)" and would include what has been termed above as the "toiling intelligentsia." These require five sponsors of five years of party membership and are candidates for membership for not less than two years.

The easier conditions of admission for workmen are adopted in order to maintain the predominance of this class in what is always declared to be the party of the workman class. Considerable difficulty has been experienced in maintaining this predominance. Over half of the members are workmen or of workman origin, although only about 40 per cent are bench-workmen actually engaged in production. Many members of workman origin have become permanent office employees, although they are not always classed as such. Sponsors are held responsible for their recommendations and may be excluded from the party for carelessness in sponsoring. Candidates must complete the program of study of the special party school of "political grammar,"

which will be discussed later. They must attend all open meetings of the organization to which they are associated as candidates, and may participate in party conferences without the right to a decisive vote, having only a consultative voice. However, during their period of candidacy they pay the usual party membership dues.

There is no ceremony for induction into membership, either at the first stage, when the applicant becomes a candidate, or at the second stage, when after fulfilling the requirements of candidacy, the candidate passes into full membership. Ceremonial settings would seem to be alien to the materialistic viewpoint of the Communist. There is similar absence of any ceremony in connection with joining the Communist Union of Youth. For the children, however, a ceremonial setting is permitted; and the occasion of joining the Pioneers of Communism is given a dramatic staging, which will be described later. No symbolism is admitted for Communists; there is no badge or insignia of membership. For purposes of propaganda the voting in of new members by a local organization is sometimes arranged at one of the open meetings of the party committee, to which non-party workmen and peasants have been invited as spectators.

The basis of organization of the party is the so-called "cell." The cell idea was not deliberately conceived and applied; it developed by a sort of natural process. Wherever in any institution or geographic unit there are three or more members of the party, these constitute a cell. In large institutions, such as a factory for example, there will be several cells, one for each workshop. On the other hand, for a whole rural canton or township there may be only one cell. Each cell is organized with a bureau and a secretary. In 1926 there were about 30,000 cells, falling into the following main categories: factories, 7,315; rural communities, 15,819; Soviet governmental and economic institutions, 5,167; Red army, 566; and educational institutions, 573. Cells vary in size, some factory cells numbering several hundred members, while many rural cells have only a dozen or more members. Only about 4,000 members and candidates were "solitary Communists," situated so that they could not be members of particular cells.

Rural cells form a higher body, the Cantonal Committee, if there are more than three in a canton or township. In the larger cities the cells are grouped under ward committees. These committees meet regularly, and not less than once every two weeks. To co-ordinate the work of these committees, periodic district conferences are held, and a District Committee elected, to the work of which at least three members must give all their time. The secretary of the District Committee

must have a three-year party standing, and his election requires the confirmation of the next higher party authority. The next higher unit of organization is the province, or a territorial unit called a "region." Here there are also the periodic conferences and the permanent committees, the former meeting at regular intervals and the latter containing members devoting all their time to party work. The secretary of a Provincial Committee must have been a member of the party for at least seven years. The Provincial Committee is the most important of the local committees, organizing and directing party work in all fields throughout the province. It appoints, for example, the editorial staffs of all party newspapers and publications in the province.

Party organizations serving the territory of a national republic or region autonomous within the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic or independent within the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics are on the same footing as regional or provincial organizations. Thus in the party there is no distinction corresponding to the autonomous status of the Tartar Republic or the independent status of the Ukrainian Republic, although there is provision for congresses of these national Communist parties. These congresses would seem to correspond to the regional conferences mentioned above.

All local party organizations are autonomous in the determination of local questions under the direction of the general meeting, conference, or congress. But each unit is subordinated to the one immediately above it. This is what is called "democratic centralism," which is the guiding principle of the organizational structure of the party. The democratic element is admittedly flexible, to be widened or narrowed as conditions dictate. In a period of acute revolutionary struggle the principles of democracy must be sacrificed.

The central institutions of the party are of particular importance. The highest authority is the periodic congress which is convened yearly. It is supplemented by a conference of representatives of local party organizations, which usually precedes the congress. The Central Committee is elected by the congress, to the number of seventy, with a large number of alternates to fill vacancies occurring between congresses. The Central Committee directs all the activity of the party, distributes the forces and resources of the party, and is in charge of the central treasury. It must meet at least once every two months, and alternates attend with consultative voice. For political work the Central Committee organizes a Political Bureau, an organizational bureau, and a secretariat for current work of organization and of an executive character. The Political Bureau, now composed

of nine members, is in fact the highest authority in the party. It is by this body that the most important decisions of policy are actually determined.

Two commissions are elected by the Congress, the Central Control Commission and the Central Revision Commission. The former is the more active and important, although in the case of the latter the members elected must have ten years' party standing, that is, they must have been members of the party before the October revolution. It is the duty of these commissions to enforce the obligations and rules of membership. The Central Control Commission is merged and works with the governmental institution of Workman-Peasant Inspection.

It is through such a structure that the three basic principles of organization—monolithic unity, democratic centralism, and iron discipline—are enforced. Factional groupings of any kind are strictly forbidden. A faction is any grouping which organizes and meets outside of the framework of organization established by the statutes of the party and which elaborates its own platform of principles and introduces its own internal discipline. On several occasions there have been tendencies toward factionalism, but to date all efforts to form even informal groupings have been severely penalized. Despite their denial, the leaders of the recent new opposition, headed by Trotsky and Zinoviev, have been charged with trying to form a faction within the party. Such a development would in fact represent a sharp departure from one of the principles for which Lenin stood most steadfastly, and for which he fought on more than one occasion. It is claimed that the enforcement of this principle does not exclude discussion within the party. Such discussion is in fact encouraged. But when a policy has been adopted, all further discussion is strictly forbidden, as leading to factionalism. It is asserted that without this restriction on discussion the party would become a mere debating society instead of a party of revolutionary action. The most serious threat to the unity of the party came during the recent dispute which started in 1926 and which continued for over a year. The removal from positions of authority in the Soviets as well as in the party of several of the first and original leaders of the Revolution was the clearest indication of the remarkable strength of this principle of unity. Trotsky and Zinoviev promised to refrain from further factional activity; but as they refused to give up certain ideas which had been formally defeated, though retained in the party they were demoted. Subsequently they were expelled and even banished from Moscow.

One feature of the discipline which is enforced in the party should

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be noted as bearing particularly on the subject of civic training. A member may be assigned to any kind of position and in any part of the Union, and he must accept the assignment. It is thus that the party can promote activity in any particular field by sending to it fresh and trained workers. In the first years the practice of mobilizing Communists for particular tasks was frequently used; at present this method is resorted to less extensively. However, it is always possible in this way to inject into a given locality or a given line of work large groups of specially trained, active elements to meet the problem at hand. In the first years Communist Saturdays were organized, members of the party spending the Saturday half-holiday at some urgent piece of work, to meet a crisis and at the same time set an example to the masses. The practical results of such sporadic and casual effort often were negligible, but the effect on the morale of the Communists thus engaged was useful. In this way they showed concretely a realization of their special civic responsibility.

The discipline within the party is enforced by a system of penalties. The most extreme penalty is that of expulsion from the party. The names of expelled members must be published in the party press for general knowledge. It is impossible to determine what the attitude of the non-party element of a community is toward an expelled member of the party, but it would seem that such persons would not be elected to any responsible position in the Soviets or other bodies. Other penalties are party censure, public censure, and temporary removal from responsible positions either in the party or in a Soviet institution. This last form of penalty is a real punishment because the individual is kept under the discipline of the party and must accept any minor tasks which may be assigned to him. The grounds for expulsion or other penalties are numerous, the more general being "acts recognized as criminal by the public opinion of the party." Thus there have developed a whole series of acts which are considered unbecoming the conduct of a Communist. A type of Communist morality has been evolved, very specific in many respects. Habitual drunkenness or wife-beating will lead to expulsion; frequently steps are taken to help the erring member reform. Abuse of the law on marriage and divorce is also punishable. Bullying, or even "commanding," methods of administration by Communists holding official positions are now being actively combatted by the party, with the effective sanctions of party discipline. Where Communists holding responsible positions in state institutions are found guilty of dishonesty or corruption, they are more severely punished. It is not clear on what basis the judicial au-

thorities impose the more severe penalty when the guilty party is a Communist. One of the first questions asked of a person brought before a Soviet judge is whether he or she is a member of the party. The judges of the higher tribunals are, almost without exception, Communists, and as such under the dictation of their revolutionary conscience may impose the higher penalties provided by the law where the crime has been committed by a citizen with a conscious responsibility. Where a party member is expelled for a specific crime, the fact must be officially reported to the administrative and judicial authorities.

There are activities positively forbidden to a Communist. A member of the party may not engage in any activity from which personal profit is derived by the exploitation of the labor of another. This is a positive regulation, supplemented by warnings against too close association in personal life with "bourgeois" elements. Some leaders urge that Communists carefully avoid the dress and manners of the enemy class. Thus the outward appearance of a party member should not be such as to suggest a non-toiling life or arouse the indignation of toilers, says one writer, adding that the Communist should live as nearly like the way workmen have to live as possible, and particularly he should not handicap himself with the economic burden of finely equipped living-quarters. It is added by this writer that this does not mean that the Communist is to go dirty or in rags. Finally, it is considered bad taste for a Communist to marry a woman from another and alien class. Thus personal life is not separated from party life. The interests of the Revolution and of the party are paramount. Disorderly sexual life or drinking weaken the fighter for the Revolution.

One of the positive obligations of party membership is a minimum of public activity. Every party member must be engaged in some civic activity, on which he has to report to his cell, and with respect to which he is responsible to an organization of the party. As we shall see, leadership by a member of the party of all and every activity is the aim. The cell system of organization makes possible the realization of this aim. In every elected institution there is the Communist "fraction," the only politically organized group in the given institution. In addition to general leadership in the Soviets, trade-unions, co-operatives, and other institutions, there are innumerable tasks, such as lecturing at schools or workmen's clubs, or organizing political holidays, which are reckoned as civic activity. Members who have been selected to train themselves by study in special party schools or institutions must carry a larger load of civic activity. The details of how

the party member fulfils this specific obligation will appear in the discussion of the character and work of the various civic organizations, and of the rôle of the Communist with respect to them. It has been found that party members were too heavily loaded down with these civic tasks outside their regular occupation. Frequently in a given cell the tasks were not equally distributed among the membership, three or four particularly active individuals carrying the whole burden assumed by or assigned to the group. Conferences and committee meetings, reckoned as civic activity, were found to take an abnormal amount of time. Therefore of late there has been a campaign to reduce the number of committees and committee meetings, and particularly to fix a maximum, as well as a minimum, for the obligation of civic activity. A party member must be allowed free evenings and one free day a week. Further, it has been found that the obligation has been enforced in such a way and to such an extent as to make activity often purely mechanical. Even the Communists have been reckoning simply the amount of time spent, with little thought of the content of the work done. In recognition of this tendency changes have been made in the method of carrying out the idea of requiring specific civic activity. The new party members taken in as the October contingent, in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Revolution, are to be allowed to select their fields of activity in public or social service.

Members, and also candidates, have to pay regular dues, of which there are four categories, according to the wage or salary received by the individual. The dues are ½ per cent of the monthly wages paid monthly for the lowest category, 1 per cent for the second, 2 per cent for the third, and 3 per cent for the fourth category. In the case of a peasant, the dues are fixed by the Provincial Committee. Unemployed, sick, and disabled are excused from dues. Failure to pay dues for a period of three months without reasonable excuse automatically leads to loss of membership. An initiation fee of 3 per cent of the monthly wage is levied on all, without exception, at the moment of admission to candidacy.

There is a fixed party maximum wage or salary of 225 rubles a month for the large cities and a somewhat lesser amount for the smaller cities and provinces. If a Communist is assigned to a position which carries a salary in excess of this amount, he must turn back the surplus into the party treasury. As already indicated, Communists are not permitted to engage in business for profit. However, work in literature and education is encouraged, and the party member is allowed to retain the major portion of what he earns by writing or lec-

turing, where this is not his regular work or is in excess of his compulsory civic activity. Here in these fields it is considered expedient and proper to permit the factor of individual interestedness. The percentage levied by the party on such earnings goes to a special pension fund for party members.

It would seem that the principle of the "party maximum" has been modified, although there was no broad discussion of the changes, which were made by instructions in circulars. In 1926 the local party authorities were instructed not to enforce the party maximum in the case of a skilled workman in production. At the beginning of 1928 this instruction was interpreted as extending to shop bosses and technical experts. The party maximum would seem to be applicable only to managers and office workers, that is, to the bureaucratic element. So long as it is retained with respect to these categories, it illustrates concretely the idea of the conscious responsibility of the Communist. Communists are expected to subscribe to the public loans floated. These loans generally have a lottery feature, with prizes as high as 25,000 rubles. A Communist may retain only a part of a large prize if he holds the lucky number, as determined by the party authorities.

Certain administrative positions held by Communists carry perquisites of a legitimate nature, such as transportation or traveling expenses and *per diem* living expenses while on an official mission. There is the possibility of abuse here, despite the strict discipline of the party. Outstanding instances of such abuse have been severely penalized, although many apparent instances seem to go unnoticed. Undoubtedly certain outstanding individual Communists have made the fullest use of such perquisites without interference. Among those on missions abroad there has been full utilization of the excuse that concession must be made to the "capitalistic" environment and its conventions. Health resorts and sanitoria, abroad and in the Caucasus, have been used extensively by leaders as well as by the rank and file of the party, under the system of social insurance. It is not determinable whether the Communists enjoy these services to a greater extent than the non-party workmen or workers.

The overhead expenses of the local organizations of the party are covered by the dues of the members and subsidies from the higher party organizations and "other sources." The nature of the "other sources" is not indicated. Some of the publication activity of the party produces a profit which goes into the party treasury. The party pays the salaries of the members and secretaries of committees who give all of their time to party work. In a factory the elected secretary

of the Communist cell is paid by the party. In the factory and other institutions, state or private, the Communist cell has its room or rooms. The committees have their headquarters, the Central Committee occupying one of the largest office buildings just outside the Kremlin walls. It is improbable that the party is charged rent for the use of the quarters which its various organizations occupy. Certain Soviet-party schools, in which the majority of the students are Communists, are part of the state network of schools and are carried in the budget of the commissariat of education. On the other hand there are strictly party schools and Communist universities which are financed by the party. The ruling position of the party with respect to the Soviets has led many to question the possibility of an absolute separation of party from public finance. No detailed information on this point is available.

The nationality element, which is recognized and even fostered through the principles of autonomy and independence in the Soviet state structure, is on the other hand minimized in the structure of the party. As pointed out earlier, although local organizations, in the Ukraine for example, are spoken of as "National Communist parties" and have their own Central Committees, they have no more independence than a corresponding set of local organizations for an area without a distinct nationality character. It is an "All-Union Communist party." The "oneness" of the Communists of the whole Union tends to modify the autonomy, and particularly the independence of the various units of the Union. The party literature is published in the languages of the national minorities, as the use of these languages is being encouraged and strengthened. But the content of the literature is the same in all the editions. The statistical studies of the party membership give material on the distribution by nationalities, and particularly on the strength of the local nationality in the Communist cells of its territorial area. During the first years, as the Revolution was centered in, and was spreading from, the Russian industrial center, the Russian element tended to predominate in the Communist organizations and correspondingly in the Soviet institutions of non-Russian units. This was particularly true of the Ukraine for example, which passed back and forth several times during the fighting of 1918–20. Also, the Jewish element in the party was found to be very dominant in the Ukraine. These tendencies were seen to arouse antagonism in the local groups even of Communists; and although nationalism is opposed and fought, it was found expedient to push forward Communists of the local nationality in the autonomous and independ-

ent republics or regions. Despite these tactical and therefore temporary concessions to the principle of nationality the party subordinates the nationality element in its structure and organization.

One of the obligations assumed on entering the party is to be a militant atheist. It is not enough that the Communist abstain from all religious belief or from any contact with the church; he must work actively against religious belief, as "religion is opium for the people," used, according to the Communists, to exploit the people. Atheism is considered an integral part of Marxist materialism. One of the frequent grounds for expulsion from the party is participation in a religious ceremony. Peasant members whose families continue religious practices are given a term within which they are to win over the members of their family from religious belief. In their antireligious activities Communists are strictly enjoined to use tact in order not to strengthen the "prejudices" of believers; the earlier direct assault on all religion has been modified to indirect methods of dispelling so-called prejudices with the use of science. Except for this injunction, dictated by considerations of expediency, an antireligious propaganda is expected of all members of the party.

The Communist leaders assert that there is a genuine and vital intraparty democracy despite the high degree of centralism in the structure of the party and the strictness of the discipline enforced. Democracy in the party expresses itself in three forms:

In the first place, all party organizations, from the lowest to the highest, are now elective. The earlier practice of appointment from above of the secretaries of the lower units presumably has been completely abandoned. Further, the policy is to renovate the elective positions in order to increase the activity and consciousness of the party mass, and bring about a systematic inclusion of the party mass not only in the discussion of questions but also in the leadership in actual work.

Frequent elections are expected to prevent the development of a party bureaucracy and the division of membership into an upper stratum and a mere rank and file. However, a more or less permanent executive staff has grown up, including what are called "responsible party workers," "technical party workers," and also the salaried secretaries of cells and committees. At the end of 1926 the total number of this staff was 18,780. Also, the date of joining of the party of each member is a matter of close record, as party standing is a qualification for certain responsible positions within the party. The prerevolutionary membership is spoken of as the "old guard." At first all

members who had been in the party before 1917 were secured high places in the organization. It was practically the rule that those who had been members of the Central Committee before the Revolution were to be re-elected as a matter of right. Statements to this effect were publicly made. In the recent dispute between groups of leaders, the question of expulsion from the Central Committee of such prerevolutionary members as Trotsky and Zinoviev came up, and one speaker in the debate asserted that the party did not need, and should not acknowledge, a "nobility" within its ranks.

The second democratic principle emphasized as underlying the party structure is the provision for regular and frequent rendering of account by the elected body to its constituency. The "actif" of any particular group is noted as a fact, but it is not to substitute for the general meeting of the whole group.

In the third place, it is maintained that the fullest freedom of discussion not only is permitted but is systematically organized. A limitation with regard to discussion has been noted, namely, that definite decision on a particular point of policy, by the Central Committee, must be accepted, all further discussion of the particular subject being forbidden. Before each congress, however, the published agenda of the congress are discussed freely and in an organized manner in all cells and committees in preparation for the congress. In such discussions there must be no breaking up into factions or groups.

The danger of the development of arrogance and snobbery among Communists because of the responsibility for leadership which they have assumed and secured to themselves was seen from the very beginning. Lenin spoke frequently against the "Communist snobbery" which was manifesting itself. Of late there has been less discussion of the subject, although the persistence of it in many individuals is recognized by the constant efforts to eliminate what are now termed habits of "commanding." The reregistrations, the inspections by Control Commissions, and the disciplinary measures taken by the party with respect to its members are directed in part to guard against arrogant and commanding methods of leadership. As other institutions and organizations are discussed and the rôle of the Communist members described, this question of character of the Communist leadership will have to be emphasized in each instance.

In general in the exercise of the party's leadership it is constantly declared that the party must not lose contact with the masses and become a mere bureaucracy. The possibility of such development has been more frankly faced during the last year or so. For in spite of

theory the masses have hesitated to criticize, since criticism might be interpreted as opposition to this kind of leadership. There have been several outstanding instances of the complete absence of any control over the party hierarchy. In one case, for two and a half years the party bureaucracy ran the district with a high hand, breaking Soviet laws as well as all the regulations of the party. It required a special commission from the Central Committee of the party to put an end to the lawless methods of the local authorities. This was not an instance simply of "commanding" or of "Communist arrogance," perversions of leadership which it has been necessary constantly to combat; it was "hooliganism" in its worst form, under the cover of party leadership. Complaints had involved penalties for their authors even when they were party members representing the rank and file of the party trying to practice intraparty democracy. As a last resort these persons had met illegally, inviting the head of the local political police authority to the meeting so as not to render themselves liable to the charge of political conspiracy. This was a local and on the whole a small affair. However, in the wide discussion of the conditions found in this and several other provincial centers, no special local circumstances were emphasized as responsible for the perversion of leadership, the breakdown of party discipline, and the failure of intraparty democracy. To keep the party in touch with the masses, all local branches of control commissions have been instructed to establish regular office hours on holidays and Sundays at factories and other institutions to receive complaints. The complaints may be made orally and without formality.

The element of tutelage, despite all the campaigns against bureaucratism, commanding methods of leadership, and Communist arrogance, would seem to be inevitable in the actual exercise of the leadership. The result in several instances has been a marked passivity, and in some instances there has been active boycott. Also, indirect methods have been resorted to by certain elements, in an effort to escape the Communist tutelage under the demand for discipline. Passivity expresses itself in absenteeism at elections or meetings. In view of the frequency of elections and the very large number of meetings, the percentages of attendance impress the outside observer as very high. They do not satisfy the Communist leaders, however, from the point of view of the proper functioning of the institution or organization, and particularly from the point of view of the exercise of their leadership of all activity. These elections, congresses, conferences, and meetings, which will be described more in detail in the next chap-

ters, are considered the channels through which all moods developing in the masses react on the only legal party in the Soviet system. At the same time the Communist must not "drift with the current." One of the most serious "deviations" from the "Lenin line" is to take the point of view of the "mere inhabitant."

Self-criticism has been one of the practices of the party from the beginning. The fact that only recently self-criticism was made a slogan of the day indicates that it has not been effectively practiced. Considerations of party prestige, and also the rule that there must be comradely relations between members, have tended to discourage self-criticism. But self-criticism has been enjoined as absolutely necessary, and those who opposed the new slogan were characterized as "enameled Communists," who had lost the spirit of the party. Just what constitutes constructive criticism and useful self-criticism, criticism that strengthens rather than weakens the Soviet order, is defined by the party, and it is possible that one has here in the field of criticism an application of the monopoly of legality which the party enjoys. As self-criticism became a slogan only in the winter of 1927–28, to be developed on a really large scale and presumably in an organized manner, it is too early to determine just what its character will be or its real effectiveness. It has been very carefully defined to exclude "the complaint of a mere inhabitant," for example.

The rôle of leadership of the party extends to all fields of economic life. The party organizations must study, give directions, and check on the fulfilment of directions, with respect to every line of economic activity. Thus the party organizations are responsible for the proper carrying out of the programs of grain collections, capital construction, or the co-operatization of agriculture, to mention several typical tasks. The party organization is one of the authorities to which a factory committee should also report if, for example, the management tends to shut itself off from the workmen. The full significance of the economic leadership assumed by the party has been brought home to the leaders when economic "difficulties" develop. The lessons drawn in every instance have been the need of leadership by the party; the difficulties have been interpreted as due in large part to the temporary weakening of the leadership. The party members became engrossed, for example, in the struggle within the party and therefore were not able to exercise the necessary leadership. Not only did "hostile" elements raise their heads, but particular economic programs were seriously upset, so as to dislocate the entire economic life. The recognition of the relationship of the Communist idea of leadership

to economic activity in general was clearly expressed by Bukharin at an important meeting of the party in April, 1928, when he explained that "as compared with bourgeois countries where politicians fight while trust magnates and the governmental machinery continue their business, with us an intraparty struggle makes itself felt in the whole economic organization of the country with much greater force."

Provision for a special training and education of the membership of the party is made by various types of schools, universities, institutes, and circles. These special party schools of "political grammar" first of all prepare candidates for full membership. Higher grades of similar schools give members further practical training in leadership and management, and a broader theoretical basis. These schools also aim to keep the active Communists in touch with current political and economic problems so that they can fulfil their civic duties as leaders more effectively. The institutions of more advanced character, for older Communists of considerable practical experience, are called Communist higher educational institutions or universities. Special institutes are training Communists for teaching-positions of university rank. Other more technical institutions are working to supply the state economic enterprises with directors who are also Communists, and the Red army with Communist commanders. In addition there is the Communist Academy, and also an Academy of Communist Training of the Youth. Of more informal character are the Marxist-Lenin Circles, although they aim particularly to broaden the knowledge of the doctrinal side of Marxism and Leninism among Communists.

In some places in 1926 as many as 80 per cent of the party membership were enrolled and studying in one of these educational organizations; in other more backward parts of the country only 30 per cent of the local Communists were reached by these agencies for improving the quality of the membership. It is part of the work of the Control Commissions to examine groups or individuals in "political grammar." The program and statutes of the party and the decisions of its periodic congresses are the main subjects of study in these schools. The fuller description of these political grammar schools and of other educational institutions intended primarily for Communists will be taken up as a particular subject. One of the reasons for the limitation on membership in the party is the emphasis on the need of a theoretical standard and of a clear understanding of the basic principles of Leninism in the case of each individual member. After admission, members continue their studies. In view of the program for con-

tinued training, only a limited number of new members can be properly handled.

The Communist party has its own press; in fact the official organs of the party and the newspapers and periodicals published by the party organizations are more numerous and important than the official organs of Soviet institutions. The party newspapers and periodicals are the best edited of the Soviet press and have the largest circulation, and will be discussed under the general subject of the Periodical Publications. Here it is sufficient to point out that this extensive party press contributes to the unity, discipline, training, and centralized direction of the party membership. In the party press the party worker or rank and file member gets not only his information and news but also his general instructions. This was particularly true during the first years. Now the organization of the party has been developed to the point of constant exchange of instructions, and reports up and down the steps of the pyramid-formed structure. Obligatory conferences and congresses at frequent intervals supplement the written instructions and reports. But the daily newspapers published by Provincial Committees, and particularly the daily and other organs of the Central Committee, serve to give the members the cue for each day's work. Also the party newspapers carry sections or columns on "Party Life," in which are given the reports of the Control Commissions on the character and activity of the local organizations which are regularly inspected. In these columns individual Communists may give their impressions and suggestions relating to the work of the party.

The party also publishes an enormous number of pamphlets in large editions for wide circulation. Each congress is the basis for a series of pamphlets, generally written by the outstanding leaders or by the members of the secretariat of the Central Committee, at the head of which is Stalin. Finally the "Agitation Propaganda Section" of the Central Committee issues textbooks on the history and structure of the party. A monumental *History of the Party* is being prepared. An editorial board of older members has been formed, and the archive material is being collected. By law all institutions must turn over to the party archives the statistical and other material collected in connection with their administrative work, in order to protect these against chance destruction or loss, but particularly in order that the history of the party may be written up in detail for the training of the future members. The textbooks on the history of the party and the place of

this subject in the programs of various types of educational institutions will be discussed in later chapters.

Lenin's rôle as founder and leader of the party has already been outlined; but it is necessary to emphasize the influence which Lenin the man and Lenin's writings exercise on Communists, and through them on all thought and activity. There has developed since Lenin's death a real cult of this acknowledged leader of the movement to which the party is pledged. The party is often spoken of as the "Lenin party"; and other organizations, such as the Communist Union of Youth and the Pioneers of Communism, have included his name in their full official titles. The capital where the Revolution started was renamed Leningrad. The party doctrine is based on Marxism, but "Leninism" is gradually replacing the word "Marxism." In turn "Leninism" is being used more and more instead of the term "Bolshevism" of the earlier years of the Revolution.

It is not an exaggeration to say that it is difficult to find a single important statement on any subject in which there is not a reference to some statement by "Comrade Lenin." In a short article of about one thousand words ten references were found to what Lenin had said or written on the question under discussion. The recent dispute in the party turned in large measure on the question of the correct interpretation of Lenin's writings, which have come to be accepted as the precepts for the party. These precepts are being constantly referred to and quoted. It would burden this study to attempt to show the extent to which the views and decisions of this single man influence the policies and decisions of the members and candidates of the Communist party. In the program of study for one of the grades of "political grammar" schools the instructor's attention is called to the fact that he will find the answer to any question that may come up in the course of discussion in the writings of Lenin or in the resolutions of the party congresses. During Lenin's lifetime the party resolutions were in fact often dictated by him; since his death no important decision has been taken without a careful examination of Lenin's expressed views on the subject.

Lenin's writings, including his many speeches, are published in a variety of editions. A new full edition is in process of publication, which will be a complete collection of his works. Smaller editions, of selected articles and speeches, have been issued for use in various types of educational institutions. Collections of his writings and public statements have been prepared on particular topics, such as the organization of the party. Periodicals published for workmen and peas-

ants often contain a section or page giving in instalments summaries of Lenin's teachings. The primers in primary schools give stories of his life and summaries of his teachings. The Lenin Institute, for which a large factory-like building has been constructed, is the center for the collection and study of the works of the leader. The literature on Lenin in all languages is already enormous and is to be brought together in this Institute. The preparation of editions of various sizes and in different languages will be one of the functions of the Institute. Here presumably will be a center to control the interpretation of the teachings of the leader. In the field of polemics for Communists Lenin is rapidly taking the place formerly held by Karl Marx.

The Communists have recognized from the beginning the importance of the element of individual leadership and have used it most effectively in their propaganda. Pictures of the leaders as well as of the events of the Revolution, in portraits and posters, have been used extensively. Thus in drug stores one finds generally a portrait of the People's Commissary of Public Health. The broad distribution of portraits and busts of the leaders has been a general practice, and among these the pictures of Lenin have been particularly prominent from the beginning. Since the death of Lenin the country has been literally flooded with portraits, etchings, prints, plain and colored, life-size statues, and busts of all sizes—and this despite a statement made by his widow, Krupskaya, that Lenin would prefer constructive effort as monuments in his memory. Lenin's face looks down on one in every institution. In peasant huts one generally finds a cheap print of his picture, often side by side with a religious icon.

In institutions the portrait or bust of Lenin is the central feature of the "Lenin Corner." The fitting out of this Lenin Corner is the most general aspect of the Lenin cult. Some of these Corners are historically interesting as well as highly artistic. The Lenin Corner will illustrate the personal or official contact which the institution had with the leader and his work. In one school Lenin had spent a short vacation with his wife, who was one of the directors of the school. This fact made it possible for the children to equip the Lenin Corner with interesting personal articles. In a workman's club statistical material showing the character of the work of the club will at the same time point out the views of Lenin on the importance of this particular kind of work. In a village school one will find a Lenin Corner built by the children with the help of the teacher, and by its very form and

place in the room it suggests emphatically the setting of the holy images in the church. All religious insignia as well as ceremonies are forbidden in governmental institutions, including schools, so that in a sense the Lenin Corner is the substitute for the former sacred image. In the houses of detention and correction Lenin Corners are organized and equipped by the prisoners. In every club or village reading-room the Lenin Corner is the center of the political activities of the group. Thus this institution of the Lenin Corner is utilized to promote political activity and is one of the most universal means of civic training.

For the moment the Lenin Museum of Moscow, which is in a way the central Lenin Corner, is combined with the Museum of the Revolution. Here are collected many personal belongings of the leader—his clothing, his membership tickets in the party, trade-unions, and Soviets. In a glass case is the revolver with which he was shot in 1918. The extracted bullet, with the signed reports of the doctors who performed the operation, is also exhibited. In another case are the clothes which Lenin wore when disguised and hiding during the summer of 1917.

Lenin's Mausoleum is the real center of the cult of the leader. The temporary structure of simple and not unpleasing style is placed under the wall of the Kremlin on the historic Red Square of Moscow. Behind it and under the Kremlin Wall in a narrow garden way are buried other prominent leaders. Here the American Communist John Reed, who died in Moscow, was also given burial. Inside the Kremlin, immediately behind the Mausoleum, is the All-Union Central Executive Committee of Soviets, the highest body of the Soviet government. A red flag, illuminated by searchlights at night, is always at masthead on the cupola of the building. Every evening by eight o'clock in warm weather and every afternoon by five o'clock in cold weather, a line of several thousand will have formed to enter the Mausoleum and view the body of Lenin. The line enters two abreast, descends a narrow winding stairway, and on a raised platform circles the room in the center of which the body lies. Through exceptionally clear glass one looks down and into the face of the remarkably embalmed body. There is no feeling of abhorrence. Even the mere tourist comes out deeply impressed. On the Russians the strong features of this man who looks as if he might have been a simple workman would seem to act with even greater force. For Communists this is the great leader, whose precepts they are trying to follow and fulfil.

All revolutionary celebrations in Moscow are centered around the Lenin Mausoleum, which serves as the tribune for the speakers. Through amplifiers and broadcasting apparatus the renewals of pledges to the leader are sent out as far as the wireless will reach. Thus the Mausoleum is a political center as well as a central shrine for pilgrimage. Ultimately a permanent structure is to replace the present temporary one.

The Mausoleum is the most marked symbol of what has been called the "Lenin cult." Many Communists are undoubtedly displeased with and opposed to the development of this attitude toward the individual. Communists resent the frequent use of the word "religion" by outside observers and students in describing their movement. The actual leaders of the Revolution are realists, but they use the factor of revolutionary enthusiasm to stir and inspire the active element to greater activity. Thus through the party these active elements give the tone to all institutions and organizations. For the active element Lenin is the guide—to be studied and followed, his precepts to be carried out faithfully. The actual leadership of the party takes cover behind the personality of the dead leader, and in a sense develops a kind of cult of this leader, using such to unite and unify the membership of the organized minority. For the less articulate masses the utilization of the personality of Lenin for political propaganda is carried one step farther. As these have not yet been won over to the principles of dialectic materialism and have not evinced that degree of revolutionary enthusiasm which secures admission to the party, a cult of Lenin is more direct. For the young people and children Lenin is presented as the older comrade, with a suggestion of the supernatural, however. In a *First Reader* by Blonsky, one of the leading Communist pedagogues, there are two selections on Lenin's death. The first selection is the story of the young boy who goes to the station to watch the passing of the train which is carrying Lenin's body to Moscow. He asks a workman to lift him up so that he can look through the car window and bid him farewell. The other selection is a short poem describing the funeral on the Red Square. On that cold northern winter afternoon the sky is heavy and overclouded as the procession sadly moves forward, but just as the body reaches the Kremlin the sun breaks through the clouds with a bright ray of light.

The organization and activity of the Communist party with respect to and within the Soviet Union have been considered here. As the largest and most important section of the Communist Internation-

al, the Communist party has a field of activity outside the Soviet Union; and the attention of the members of the party is constantly being directed to their duties and activities as international revolutionaries. For the party is a "union of persons who have resolved to fight for Communism on a world-scale, to the end, at all costs, and without any faltering." The international interests and activities of the party members will be discussed in a chapter dealing with the international feature found in other institutions and organizations of the Soviet system.

CHAPTER III

THE COMMUNIST UNION OF YOUTH (KOMSOMOL)

The second in importance of the political organizations in the Soviet Union is the "All-Union Leninist Communist Union of Youth," which claims a little over 2,000,000 members, distributed in some 63,000 cells. The current abbreviation for the name of this organization is "Komsomol," and this shorter designation will be adopted. The Komsomol in general is the training school for the Communist party, and is under the latter's direction and virtual control, although nominally it is an independent organization. It speaks of itself as the "first relief" of the Communist party, or as the "young guard" preparing itself to relieve the "old guard" of the party. Educational and general cultural work are emphasized in the activities of the Komsomol, but the organization also has a political purpose. Its members strive not only to develop their political knowledge and consciousness but also to participate actively in public life. Young people are admitted at the age of fourteen, and one may remain an active member up to the age of twenty-three. Many therefore are already citizens, and most of them are already engaged in production. The older members with the suffrage rights and already wage-earners are, like the Communists, citizens with conscious responsibility. The younger elements of the Komsomol, the boys and girls under eighteen years of age, are consciously preparing themselves for future citizenship.

The promotion and development of this political movement in the youth was in the program of the Communists before their revolution of 1917. Lenin had emphasized the importance of reaching the young workmen and peasants from the first years of his leadership of the party. In the party congress of 1903 he introduced a resolution on the work of the party among young people. There were features in the economic and political conditions of the old régime which suggested this particular attention to the youth of the country. The extensive employment of minors in industry in Russia brought the boys and girls into close contact with the older workmen and workingwomen. The high-school students of Russia had been drawn into political organizations and activities together with the older students of higher educational institutions. During the war years of 1914–17 minors

had been extensively employed in factories and mines to replace the men; it is estimated that in 1917 on the eve of the revolution there were 50,000 children and 243,000 minors in the class of industrial workmen in Russia.

By reason of these contacts with actual life large groups of the youth of Russia were drawn into the mass political awakening and activity that came with the first revolution of February, 1917. During these months of organization of all kinds the youth, particularly of the workman class in the larger cities, came together as special groups. The control of this movement became a matter of sharp contest between the Bolsheviks and the other socialist parties. The non-socialist, liberal parties in their efforts at organization also did not overlook this youth element as of particular importance in a revolutionary period. The younger students as well as the younger workmen were prominent in the revolutionary demonstrations and parades of the summer of 1917. The Red Guard organizations of this period also attracted the young people, and it was through these that the Bolsheviks were able to win over to their side many of the youth organizations. After the seizure of power in October, a considerable percentage of the incipient youth movement went into the expanded Red Guard units and thus came to participate directly in the revolutionary struggle.

It was not until October, 1918, however, that the various local organizations of young people finally became co-ordinated. A congress was called by the Moscow and Petrograd organizations, to which came delegates representing about 22,000 organized youth. At this congress the Russian Communist Union of Youth was formally instituted. The civil war was just entering on its most acute period, and ways and means of participation in the revolutionary struggle were the main points of discussion at this gathering. During the next year the organized element of the youth was extensively represented in the new Red army. Espionage activity in the political as well as in the military field was undertaken and successfully carried out by these young people. One of the most popular films of the summer of 1926 was entitled *The Little Red Devils*, which portrayed the adventures of a Russian boy and his sister, later joined by a young negro, who attached themselves to the Red Cavalry of Budenny and gave valuable service as scouts and spies.

At a second congress, in 1919, the delegates represented a membership of 96,000. The military struggle and the rôle of the young people in this struggle were still the issues of the moment. This con-

gress voted a 30 per cent voluntary mobilization of the membership for the Red army. Several local organizations raised the percentage and mobilized up to 80 per cent of their members. At the same time an active campaign for new members was started, and during the following year the enrolment was increased more than fourfold. The third congress convened in October, 1920, and represented some 400,000 members. During 1920 the younger element of the peasantry, mobilized in the Red army, had been brought into the movement, although the leadership in all local branches always remained in the nucleus of youth of the workman class.

The congress in 1920 represented the beginning of a new period, in which the Komsomol was to take on a somewhat different character. Victory had been secured on the military and political fronts, and attention was being given to the problems of economic recovery and cultural progress. Lenin attended this congress, and his speech to the delegates became part of the program for the Komsomol. The message which the leader gave to the youth was: "Study, study, and keep on studying." The Young Communists, as the members of the Komsomol also may be called, must study to become Communists. They must study, but they must also participate in the actual struggle of the workman class. The second precept which Lenin gave to the young people referred to the need of taking part in the practical work of production. The congress resolved on an educational program, supplemented by emphasis on civic training. At this same congress the question of a special training of children also came up. Communist training of children was another subject discussed by this congress. It was voted to select and assign members of the Komsomol to work among the children. Courses of training and self-education circles were to be established to prepare such members for this work. Thus the "political illiteracy" of the Komsomol members, which was recognized as one of the weak points in the movement, would be reduced. This was to be part of the study and training to become a Communist. The movement among children came later, in the form of the "Pioneers"; but in these first years the Communist leaders had time in the midst of other tasks to recognize the need not only of caring for children in the economic collapse but also of giving them a Communist training. The Young Communists were selected to play an important and responsible part in this work among children.

The most concrete result of the new line of policy adopted for the Komsomol at the end of 1920 was the establishment of schools attached to factories, for the political as well as the technical training

of the workman youth. By January, 1921, the number of "Factory Schools" had grown to 249, with an enrolment of some 30,000. These schools applied the two kinds of activity recommended by Lenin, the combining of study with participation in production. They met the needs of the young workmen who had passed beyond the school age without being able to attend school. The workman youth also was demanding a more practical education. Finally the conditions in industry that developed with the New Economic Policy of 1921 were adversely affecting the position of the youth of the workman class. The introduction of payment on the basis of production, the reduction of the staffs, and the abolition of the system of state rationing made the material conditions hard for the young workmen who were the first to be dismissed. Also, the practice of paying young workmen under eighteen years of age the full wage for a shorter day of from four to six hours was discontinued. Attention to technical training was therefore emphasized in order to help the younger workmen secure positions in industry. Further, the "front" of the Revolution was now the economic field, and "technical improvements in productive processes" became one of the tasks of the new period.

The New Economic Policy also introduced institutions such as the café and other places of amusement, and another need was to develop schools and clubs in order to counteract the influence of the street on the youth.

However, the measures adopted to combat the conditions created for the workman youth by the Nep were not sufficient to prevent a very marked falling off of membership in the Komsomol. By the fifth congress of October, 1922, the crisis had passed. It had been decided to extend the age limit for membership from eighteen years to twenty-three, and there came a very rapid, almost elemental, growth of the movement. At the 1922 congress special attention was given to the details in the program of the Communist training of the youth of the country. Healthy forms of recreation, in clubs and through the theaters and moving pictures, were included in the program of Communist training. There was also discussion of the establishment and promotion of standards of social conduct among the growing generation. Conditions that had developed required a systematic combatting of alcoholism and sexual looseness among young people. Many older speakers at the congresses preached a class pride and a Komsomol honor code. By this date the Pioneers of Communism, representing the Communist movement among children under the age of fourteen, had begun to appear in small groups. The relation of the Komsomol

to the Pioneers was more strictly defined. Finally, the Komsomol assumed at this time its "patronage" or stewardship of the Red fleet. This special work among sailors was to become one of the important civic activities of the Komsomol.

No congress was held in 1923; but when the sixth congress was convened in 1924, the former membership had been re-established and brought up to 623,300, of whom 520,000 were full members and 103,300 were candidates for membership. Of the full members 442,000 were young men and 78,000 were girls and young women. In line with the general policy of attention to the village the peasant youth had been brought into the movement in larger numbers. The next year marked further rapid growth. By 1926 the total enrolment was 1,612,372, of whom 1,476,125 were full members; of these, 1,208,199 were boys and young men and 267,926 were girls and young women. By classes this membership was distributed as follows: workmen, 35.8 per cent; agricultural laborers, 7.8 per cent; peasants, 45.1 per cent; others, 11.3 per cent. Thus the peasant element had come to have a majority; it had of course a much larger group from which to draw. The largest proportion from any single class was the workman element, which had been the initiator of the movement and which still furnished its leadership. The further growth to a total membership of 2,250,000 in 1927 has been noted; and in spite of a recent decline, the membership in 1928 was over 2,000,000. An estimate of the population of the Soviet Union between the ages of fourteen and twenty-three in 1926 gives the following figures: workmen, 700,000; peasants, 25,000,000; others, 3,500,000. The quantitative reach of the movement may thus be visualized.

When the selection of the name to be adopted by the organization of the youth came up at the first congress, the advisability of using the word "Communist" was questioned. It was urged that the word might frighten away non-party elements, especially in the peasantry; but the decision was that it was more truthful to call the organization "Communist," as it was to be closely connected with the party. The rapid growth of the movement would indicate that the Communist character of the organization has not frightened away the peasant youth. Later the suggestion was made that a frankly non-party, and therefore larger, mass organization of the youth be formed, to supplement the Komsomol. One idea was to organize the youth in separate sections of the trade-unions. It was argued, however, that the Komsomol had the full right of self-assertion and growth, with easy conditions of admission. In many industrial centers the Komsomol was

becoming in fact a mass organization with respect to its leading element, having brought in as many as 90 per cent of the local young workmen. It was decided that the Komsomol therefore should retain its monopoly of the Soviet youth movement.

The conditions of admission to the Komsomol are comparatively easy. There are no requirements of political training and experience for young workmen and peasants, and no recommendations are required in support of the applications of young people from these two classes. Only in the case of young people from the middle peasantry is a certain amount of care exercised, as the middle peasant is not always easily distinguishable from the *kulak*, or rich peasant. For young people not of peasant and workman origin, recommendations from two members of three years' standing and from a member of the Communist party of two years' party standing must accompany the application. Young people employed in Soviet institutions or the children of such make up this group, the third main category of members. Young people supported by "bourgeois" parents find it difficult to gain admission. An instance of flat refusal to admit the son of the private shopkeeper of a village came to notice. However, the policy has been to admit the youth of bourgeois origin on recommendation and with a period of candidacy. There is no period of candidacy for applicants of workman and peasant origin. For all others the applicant is admitted to all meetings and participates in all the activities of the group, but is not given a voice in elections and is watched and graded as to civic activity and general conduct for a period of six months.

The class principle is less rigorously enforced in the Komsomol than in the Communist party. Also, numerical predominance of the workman element is not attainable. The "directing kernel" must be the youth of the workman class however. This leadership by the workman element is secured in part by the qualifications for election to membership in, and to the secretaryship of, the higher committees. Thus the secretary of the District Committee needs only one year's standing in the Komsomol and one year's standing in the Communist party if he is a workman; a peasant must have two years' standing in the Komsomol and one year in the party; while a youth from the intelligentsia must have respectively three and two years' standing to be eligible for the position of secretary. For the Provincial Committee the qualification requirements are correspondingly higher but in the same ratio. The requirement of party standing is one of the means to make effective the leadership of the party with respect to the Kom-

somol. The combining of membership in party and Komsomol will be explained presently.

Members may be, and frequently are, expelled. Expulsions from the Komsomol are much more frequent than in the party but do not have the same importance. Voluntary withdrawal from membership is very usual. We shall note later some of the main reasons for these withdrawals. The grounds for expulsion are much the same as for the party. Failure to pay dues, to attend meetings, or to participate in the activities of the Komsomol leads automatically to the dropping of a member. Cases of violation of the program and by-laws and of the discipline of the Komsomol are the main grounds for expulsion. The discipline in the Komsomol is much less rigorous than that required in the party. Drunkenness, rowdyism, and "conduct unbecoming a member of the Komsomol" lead to formal exclusion.

The Young Communist, like the Communist, is under obligation to give a certain amount of time to civic activity, but this obligation is not enforced as strictly as in the case of the Communist. However, the Young Communist must, for example, become "politically literate" by study in the special schools or in a "political circle." If the member has not acquired a knowledge of the main principles of Leninism after three years of membership, he is expelled; this minimum of civic activity is strictly required. At the age of twenty-three the member automatically becomes a "passive member." If, by that age, a member has not been able to gain admission to the party through training and activity in the Komsomol, he is dropped.

Like the party the Komsomol crosses all national lines, being a single organization for the whole Union. There was a separate "Lenin Communist Union of Youth of the Ukraine" until 1925, when it was merged into the larger Russian unit and the latter changed its name from "Russian" to "All-Union." Komsomol literature is published in the many languages of the Soviet Union in order to reach the youth of all racial groups. The by-laws are the same for all national groups, however, although the propaganda literature emphasizes local conditions or traditions, particularly of the more backward nationalities. But nationalistic tendencies are forcefully combatted, particularly on the part of the Russian members who are constantly enjoined to take a tactful attitude toward the youth of those national groups which were oppressed or limited under the old régime by the policy of Russification. The list of tasks for particular attention in the work of the Komsomol for the winter of 1926–27 included the combatting of anti-Semitic tendencies, which evidently were manifesting themselves.

The proportion of girls and young women in the Komsomol is comparatively small, particularly in the rural districts. Special effort is being made to increase this proportion. This point will be covered later in the discussion of the methods used to promote civic activity among the women.

The membership dues of the Komsomol are fixed at a comparatively low figure and are individual dues. A scale of payments proportionate to earnings is more difficult to establish than for members of the party. Many of the youth are not self-supporting or economically independent. The basic rate is ½ per cent of the monthly wage, and many are excused from the payment of dues. The member who also belongs to the party pays only the party dues.

In its structure the Komsomol parallels the Communist party. There is always a Komsomol cell in every factory or Soviet institution, and one or more in every rural canton. The number of Komsomol cells is more than double that of the party cells, and the excess is found particularly in the peasant villages and educational institutions. In the cities a member belongs to the cell of the institution where he or she works or is studying. Local committees ascend the scale of the administrative divisions of the Soviet Union, like the party committees, and are co-ordinated in the Central Committee situated in Moscow. The by-laws are in the main the same as those of the Communist party. The principles of organization are unity, democratic centralism, and discipline. Cell bureaus and all committees are elective, and the lower unit is subordinated to the one immediately above it. Annual congresses are held, preceded by conferences. Finally, as in the case of Communists, Komsomol members in non-party mass institutions or organizations form a "fraction," which is responsible to the Komsomol committee for the territorial area of the institution or organization.

The Komsomol has a badge; for the young people there is this slight concession to the use of symbolism. This simple badge is generally worn rather conspicuously. On the other hand, there is no ceremonial of initiation, the voting in of members taking place at regular meetings of the cell without any special procedure or demonstration.

The relation between the Komsomol and the Communist party has been noted in several connections. The organization of this relationship has been indirectly indicated. Many Komsomol members are also members of the Communist party, for all members of the party under twenty years of age must be members of the Komsomol, and no one under twenty years of age may become a Communist unless he is a

member of the Komsomol. Thus there is effectuated through these members common to both organizations the strong influence of the party on the Komsomol. These common members attend the congresses of both organizations, in part fulfilling their obligation of civic activity to each body by working in the other. But the main purpose of this interlocking membership is to control the leadership of the Komsomol. This "party kernel" in the Komsomol was originally more than 10 per cent of the membership, but with the more rapid growth of the larger body this percentage has declined to about 8 per cent. On April 1, 1926, there were over 150,000 party members who were also members of the Komsomol, presumably active also in the latter.

Where in the same institution or enterprise there are cells of both party and Komsomol, they work in the closest co-operation, often even sharing the same headquarters. The Central Committee of the Komsomol is situated in the building of the Central Committee of the Communist party. Finally, to indicate the more formal aspects of the relationship of the Komsomol to the party, at the congresses of the latter the work of the Komsomol is always reported on and discussed, and "directing" resolutions are adopted.

This close contact with the ruling party gives to the Young Communist a sense of real importance. His organization is often spoken of as one of the supporting bulwarks of the Soviet order. The authority and prestige of the party are matters of his concern; the honor of the party is the honor of the Komsomol. The Komsomol cells discuss and express themselves on questions of party policy when such are thrown open for discussion. Party leaders constantly are addressing Komsomol meetings and formal conferences on the policies of the party. For the Komsomol is first of all a training school for the party. However, the Komsomol is not expected to act as an organization on a plane of equality with the party, and when a tendency to act independently has appeared, although the issues on these occasions were unimportant, the too assertive action of the Komsomol evoked prompt rebuke from the party authorities. On the other hand, many local Komsomol groups have experienced an excess of party control which has made them lose all initiative and limit their activities to the mere fulfilment of minor tasks assigned to them by the party. In the villages where party members are not numerous and are overburdened with official Soviet and party work, the party leadership is less effective and the Komsomol has more independence and real authority.

The Komsomol has its own press, very similar in its organization to the press of the party although smaller in scope. The central organ is published by the Central Committee in conjunction with the Moscow Committee, and is called the *Komsomol Pravda.* It resembles somewhat in makeup the central organ of the party, the *Pravda,* and is a daily of the average size of the Soviet newspaper. Like the *Pravda* of the party, the *Komsomol Pravda* serves to keep the members informed on the policies adopted and the developments in the movement; but it is also a general newspaper, giving much attention to foreign news. The leading and contributed discussion articles would seem to be intended for the older membership, as frequently they differ little in content from corresponding articles in other newspapers. Considering the fact that this newspaper is for the youth, one is struck by the aggressiveness of its discussion of current political and economic questions. The *Komsomol Pravda* assumes a very real responsibility in public affairs. As in all Soviet and party organs, here in the Komsomol press one finds a large amount of theoretical and doctrinal discussion.

Other, more popular periodicals are published officially by the central organs of the Komsomol. Local provincial committees do not have their own dailies but use the columns of the local newspaper of the party. Illustrated weeklies and monthlies, some technical and others more general, make the Komsomol press an extensive institution. In addition the publishing department of the Komsomol, the "Young Guard" as it is called, turns out pamphlets and books written for young people; these are mainly political in character, although some also are technical. The Komsomol is responsible for the publication activity of the Pioneer movement, its committees editing the newspapers and periodicals published for this movement among the children.

The institution of "correspondents" is developed by the Komsomol editors. The sending in of items of news or theoretical essays is urged on members and put down to their credit as civic activity. Many of the correspondents of workman, peasant, or Red army newspapers are Komsomol members. In the same way, the Komsomol cell of an institution or enterprise is always associated in the editing of the "wall newspaper," which, as we shall see, is one of the much used methods of initiating and providing for modest but effective civic activity. The "living newspaper" movement of the so-called "Blue Blouses" appeals with particular force to the younger element and furnishes another channel for political activity. The organization of correspondents,

the "wall newspaper," and the "living newspaper" will be discussed in a later chapter.

The obligation to engage in some kind of public or civic activity on all members of the Komsomol has been noted in the outline of the origin of the Soviet youth movement and of the structure and organization of the Komsomol. The rôle of the Komsomol in the Soviets, trade-unions, co-operatives, schools, and other institutions and organizations will be described in the discussion of these subjects. Here the compass of the activities of the members will be summarized in order to give a general picture of this type of citizen who, side by side with the Communist, is the outstanding political influence in any group or community. For the Komsomol is expected to be always a militant political organization.

In the Komsomol the distinction is made between the "active element" and the "passive element," as in the case of the party. This differentiation is made necessary by the recent and rapid growth of the organization and is only temporary. In theory all members are to be "activists," and the organization of the various activities of the Komsomol aim to bring every single member into effective participation in some civic task. In the early years of its history, in the revolutionary years of 1918–20, the tasks of Komsomol members were concrete. They were called "shock" tasks, enthusiasm for which could be easily aroused by agitation. There was an armed enemy to be fought, conspiracies to be ferreted out of their underground headquarters, and bandits and robbers to be ambushed. There were simple economic jobs to be done on holidays by groups, such as the cleaning of streets or roadways. With the conclusion of the fighting period of the Revolution the tasks became more prosaic, and systematic programs and propaganda were necessary to keep alive the enthusiasm of the young people. An older element was brought in by the extension of the age limit from eighteen to twenty-three, and it became difficult to organize activities that would appeal to members ranging in age from fourteen to twenty-three years. The size of the organization tended to develop conventional forms of work. And, too, the Communist direction of the movement tended to limit individual or group initiative; the Communist leaders in the organization were inclined to dictate and control in order to keep all activities strictly along Communist lines.

The members, as well as the candidates of the Komsomol, must first of all give attention to the development of their political consciousness, and such study is reckoned as civic activity. There are

special Komsomol schools of "political grammar," which are very similar in aim and program to the political grammar schools of the party and will be discussed together with the latter. In the non-party mass institutions such as workmen's clubs and village reading-rooms, among the various "circles" of these institutions there is always the political educational circle. It is the duty of the Komsomol members to initiate, participate in, and lead this particular activity; here the Young Communist manifests his or her responsibility as citizen or future citizen, which follows from the fact of membership. The participation of the Komsomol in the discussion of party policies has been noted above. By these discussions the youth is introduced in a practical way into political life even before the suffrage age. All members thus prepare themselves for future membership in the party, which is presumably the ambition of every Komsomol member.

The youth always participates in general revolutionary celebrations or holidays, or organizes some of its own. The Komsomol assumes the responsibility of preparation and management for the larger group of young factory workmen, office workers, peasants, or pupils or students of an educational institution. The antireligious demonstrations of 1924 were initiated, organized, and led by the Komsomol. The Komsomol groups show the greatest energy and liveliest imagination in preparing banners and floats for these occasions. Although this activity has the element of relaxation and play, it entails work and expenditure. With the large number of revolutionary celebrations, all extensively and even elaborately staged, such preparation and participation have become a considerable burden.

The patronage of the Red fleet has been assumed by the Komsomol. This institution of patronage, of a politically more conscious and organized group with respect to another whose conditions of life permit of less political consciousness and organization, is applied extensively in the Soviet system of civic training. The long term of service and the conditions of life in the navy call for special effort to keep the young men in the Red fleet in touch with civil life and conscious of their place in the new order. The obligation of special interest in the material welfare and cultural development of the Red fleet sailors was therefore imposed on the Komsomol as a body. Distribution of literature, assistance in organizing political studies and discussions, interchange of visits by groups on excursions, and special entertainment of sailors on leave of absence are the more usual forms in which the patronage expresses itself.

Of a somewhat similar character is the rôle which the Komsomol

must play in the strengthening of the ties between the workmen and peasants. The work here is too general to come within the scope of the institution known as "patronage." Since 1921 one of the political issues has been the "cementing of workmen and peasants." In this effort to secure an alliance of workmen and peasants under the leadership of the workmen, the Komsomol, composed in the main of the two elements, is a ready means at hand.

More specific than patronage is the actual leadership which the Komsomol has assumed of the Pioneer movement among children between the ages of ten and sixteen. This Communist movement among children will be discussed in the following chapter, where the rôle of the Komsomol in the leadership and training of its own "reserve force" will be described. For a large number of the membership the assignment as the leader of a Pioneer brigade constitutes the required civic activity. This is one of the more responsible as well as concrete tasks of the Komsomol.

In the various voluntary organizations which will be enumerated and discussed later, the Komsomol members must join in as members, actively participate in the periodic drives for membership, and distribute the literature of the organization. These voluntary organizations are for the most part political in character, such as the International Society to Assist Revolutionaries, Hands off China, or Friends of Aviation and Chemistry. Membership implies dues; in the case of the International Society to Assist Revolutionaries, for example, the main object of the organization is to raise funds. For a Komsomol member it is often an obligation to join such a society; as the active citizen of a group he cannot very well refuse to contribute to the collection. Although these dues are often very small, in the aggregate they represent a considerable sum. The fixing of a maximum of this burden on the individual member has become necessary.

Many Komsomol members are pupils or students in the schools, universities, and other general educational institutions. Here they must be model students and assume leadership in the group. In connection with their work in the children's movement, the young Communists extend their leadership even to the lower grades of the school. In the Factory Schools and the recently introduced Schools for Peasant Youth the pupils are for the most part members of the Komsomol. Finally, in the special Soviet-Party Schools Komsomol members share the enrolment with party members. The character of the special leadership by the Komsomol members in all these educational institutions will be discussed in the chapters on the Soviet school system.

In 1926 there were 100,000 members of the Komsomol in the Red army. Many will later be called to the colors. Therefore one of the obligations of the boys and young men is to prepare themselves for Soviet military service. To this end, energies must be preserved and not dissipated, and physical as well as preliminary military training systematically undertaken. The athletic circles and clubs that have had a noteworthy growth in the Soviet Union during these last years are in large measure the result of the organized efforts of the Komsomol in this field. This leadership of the Komsomol has aimed to create what is called a Soviet type of physical culture, which strives to give to sport and athletics a purposeful aspect. The establishment of certain traditions in the field of physical culture is one of the obligations of the Komsomol. Until recently, formal military drilling was not included in the activities of the Komsomol. The development of friction in the international relations of the Soviet Union in 1926 gave to the Soviet program of military preparedness a more concrete and active character. Drilling, practice in sharpshooting, and training in first aid were emphasized in the activities of the Komsomol members. The girls and young women were given the choice of preparing themselves as nurses or of drilling. In the campaigns and demonstrations for preparedness for defense of the Revolution against the capitalistic enemy, the Komsomol, with its traditions, principles and aims, was logically in the foreground.

Antireligious propaganda is one of the forms of the political activity which a member of the Komsomol must manifest. Membership in the Komsomol, as in the party, implies a Marxist materialistic outlook. The prohibition to participate in any religious ceremony is not enforced as rigorously on a Komsomol member as on the Communist. But the Young Communist is supposed to struggle against religious ideas and practices, particularly in his own family. The aggressive methods used at first by the Young Communists in their antireligious agitation are now forbidden by the leaders. But in the literature and the public activities of the Komsomol there is constant emphasis on the need to "spread science" in order to dispel "religious prejudices."

In order to be the leaders in their groups the members of the Komsomol are expected to observe certain general rules in their private, everyday life. There have been many reports of a general demoralization in the younger generation that has grown up during the years of the Revolution. The leaders of the movement have been making every effort to curb the excesses of which many individual members and even whole local groups have been guilty. The Komsomol members theoret-

ically are opposed to drinking, smoking, and sexual excesses, as wasteful of the youthful energy needed to meet the obligations of the future builders of the new order. Pamphlets issued by the Komsomol base their agitation against drinking, smoking, and sexual looseness on this revolutionary, utilitarian consideration.

It is asserted that Komsomol members do not enjoy any special privileges as pupils or students, as workmen, or as members of trade-unions and other non-party mass organizations and that the Young Communists, like the Communists, theoretically have only special responsibilities as leaders in the group in which they study or work. But snobbery and commanding methods of leadership have characterized the Komsomol. As in the party, the leaders are constantly writing and speaking against these tendencies. Rowdyism is also prevalent among the members, in clubs, at elections, and on the streets. This rowdyism, or "hooliganism," often is merely a perverted but rather harmless form of the activity enjoined on the Komsomol member. But the presence of Komsomol members in groups of young ruffians attacking and ravaging women started a new campaign among the membership to combat what was termed in general "hooliganism."

In its first years the Komsomol and the family came into sharp conflict. The aggressiveness of their activity in civic affairs made the young people fret under the restraints of family ties. Also, during the first years of the Revolution the institution of the family was being attacked, at least academically, by many of the outstanding leaders. The attitude of individual parents toward the Komsomol was negative in this period, particularly in the peasant families, and many family tragedies resulted from the conflict over membership in the Komsomol. At present, however, the attitude of both parties, the parents and the youth, has become more conciliatory under the influence of the more constructive character of the movement. Members of the Komsomol are now urged by their leaders to avoid a family crisis if possible; but it is recognized that a Komsomol member may find it impossible to remain in the atmosphere of the family, and under such circumstances the young people are advised to leave the home. There has been wide publicity of several instances where the Komsomol member has considered it a duty to report to the authorities on the "counter-revolutionary" activity of a parent or member of the family. Opponents have tended to draw general conclusions on the basis of such cases, although no direct praise of such informers was expressed by their leaders. The principle of class struggle, which is one of the bases of the Communist training of the youth, would cover such cases in theory.

Although the obligation of civic activity is positive, the ideal of bringing all members into some kind of practical work has not been attained. Statistics covering the entire membership have not been found, but the situation in a particular group is constantly reported. In one factory collective of 814 members, only 224 had been brought into practical work. These 224 were carrying a total of 345 separate duties—139 had only one duty, 53 were carrying two lines of activity, 27 had three tasks, and 5 had assumed responsibility for four distinct assignments of practical work. In another factory it was found that 8 members were carrying six tasks each.

The overloading of the members in general and of particular members has been recognized. Poor attendance at meetings or failure to participate in a demonstration called attention to the falling off of interest. Members were voluntarily resigning, some on the ground that they could not carry the burden of membership, others on the ground that the activities did not interest them. These tendencies resulted in part from the rapidity of growth of the membership and the size of the organization, but they were also evidences of mistakes in policy. The "load" of civic activity was reduced. New lines of activity, less political in character, were developed. "Political grammar," of which the young people clearly were becoming surfeited, was less narrowly interpreted; and interest in general cultural development was allowed to express itself. The members were permitted a freer choice in the selection of their interests and activities, although the Communist leaders insisted on a co-ordination of politics and cultural development. The Communists themselves speak of the "political cackling" which characterized many of the Komsomol meetings of the last years to the exclusion of the discussion of concrete problems vital to the everyday life of young people. Fiery meetings and big demonstrations no longer satisfied the youth as they did in the earlier years. There was a clearly expressed demand from the younger generation for education and useful, practical training. The tendencies toward rowdyism showed that the Komsomol had not been able to meet the demands of the youth despite the many fields of activity to which it directed its members. The leaders of the movement insisted, however, that these negative features were indications of growth and not of decay, and revised programs and methods to meet the situation.

That the young people have become somewhat indifferent toward social and political questions is not conceded. It is simply toward this "political cackling" that the youth has reacted with an unmistakable protest, it is argued, and it is acknowledged that there has been too

much mere political agitation in the work of the Komsomol. Political work is to be continued but is to be tied up with the practical tasks of improving the economic conditions of the youth, of putting educational work on a more systematic basis, and of raising the general cultural level in the younger generation of the Revolution. One is no longer to try to crowd all the many-sided interests of the youth into "political grammar." In the clubs and schools, in the organization of circles, young people are to be allowed to show interest in non-political activities and form circles of naturalists, of accordion-players, and such. The circles are not to be imposed from above or limited within a fixed list. Actual activity is to be encouraged, and the term "active element" is no longer to be applied to the member who simply sits in the committee room, writes circulars, and gives out general directions. These are the recent conclusions of the Central Committee of the organization. To quote directly from the official reports of the meeting, "The sooner the Komsomol transfers its work to voluntary lines that encourage initiative in the youth, the more successfully will proceed the struggle for the new life and for the eradication of drunkenness and rowdyism."

At the 1928 congress of the Komsomol it was found that many unhealthy conditions still persisted in the work among young people. There had come a marked decline in the rate of increase of new members, and very large numbers of members had voluntarily withdrawn from the Komsomol. These facts were interpreted as pointing to the development of an antipolitical attitude among the youth of the country. Questionnaires were sent out so that the Young Communists could express themselves on the character of the activities of their organization. In one of the answers the young person complained that the Komsomol gave only political meetings when he was interested in the study of mathematics. A positive failure of their methods was seen by the Communists in the apparent growth of religious interests and affiliations among young people. In the review of the situation of the Komsomol at this congress, one general fact was emphasized by several speakers: it was noted that many of the new members of the Komsomol had not personally experienced the "tsarist-capitalistic" régime, nor had they passed through the fire of the October revolution and the civil war. They therefore frequently failed to get the proper perspective of the revolutionary struggle and of the constructive work of the new period. Seeing only the contradictions and defects of the period of transition "on the road to socialism," young people, even of the Komsomol, were not taking the proper Bolshevik attitude. At the

same time hostile forces were striving to win the youth over to their ideologies, it was explained.

Bukharin made one of the key speeches at this congress, and on the basis of the foregoing facts, which he also stressed, insisted on the absolute need of emphasis on political education. He maintained that attention should be given to theoretical political discussion as well as to practical work in cultural and economic fields, and that the revolutionary process as a whole must be kept constantly before the youth as part of their training. He explained that unless there was a systematic relating of everyday work with the ultimate aim there could be no systematic conception of the constructive process to which the young people were expected to contribute. Therefore there should constantly be the propaganda of complete socialism and Communism, and a propaganda of the roads leading to it, so that every step and every slogan, such as "Rationalization of Industry," should be given its full force. Such propaganda should be the axis of all the work of the Komsomol. Only thus would it be possible to develop a certain enthusiasm among the young people; he spoke of the "pathos that urged to constructive effort."

Bukharin dwelt on the importance of the principle of class struggle in Communist training and also in the everyday tasks of economic and cultural reconstruction. Then he listed the enemies of Communism, to make clearer to this selected group of leaders among the youth the responsibilities of their Komsomol. The "enemy in the open," whose face was apparent and known, was the rich peasant or private trader. Then there were several "masked enemies" in the form of legally existing organizations and of ideological tendencies. Religious associations were named as the most important of this group. A third set of enemies was found in the various nationalistic tendencies which were gaining support among the youth. Great-Russian chauvinism and Ukrainian nationalism of the old régime again were raising their heads, manifesting themselves, for example, in anti-Semitism. Bukharin spoke also of the "enemies within ourselves," and designated these as bureaucratism and alcoholism. By bureaucratic spirit and methods in its organization, the Komsomol was losing its contact with the masses and was discrediting itself, the party, and the Soviet régime. Alcoholism was responsible for the rowdyism, or "hooliganism," among Young Communists which was estranging many of the best elements among young workmen and peasants. As the "petty-bourgeois encirclement" was held responsible for many of these unhealthy tendencies, the last-named enemies also were to be conquered by the em-

phasis on the principle of class struggle and the development of a proper class feeling and the proper class approach to all tasks and problems.

From the very beginning the Soviet youth movement associated itself with an international movement. On the eve of the October revolution the Moscow youth organization was asked by the International of Youth to celebrate October 15, 1917, as the International Youth Day. Several thousand young people of Moscow paraded on that day. Delegates from Soviet Russia attended the congress called at Berlin when the Communist International of Youth was founded. The second congress of this body was held in Moscow in 1921, and the executive committee took up its headquarters in Moscow, where it works under the leadership of the Communist International. The organization and activities of the Communist International of Youth will be discussed later. Here one should note that the international aspect of the Komsomol is always emphasized. Contacts with the youth of other countries is developed in order that the wider experience of the Soviet movement may be used by others. The association with organizations of the youth of other countries is promoted also in order to acquaint the Soviet youth with the conditions and hardships of young workmen and peasants under the "yoke of capitalism," which the majority of the members of the Komsomol have not personally experienced.

CHAPTER IV

THE PIONEERS OF COMMUNISM

"The Children's Communist Organization of Young Pioneers in the Name of Comrade Lenin" reads the full official title of what is more generally called the "Pioneer movement" in the Soviet Union. We have here a third Communist organization; and, like the Communist party and the Komsomol, the Pioneers are a political organization, representing the first stage of Communist activity. This Communist movement among children is considered one of the most important and basic fields of the revolutionary movement as a whole. The Pioneers are a product and also a feature of the Soviet order, and the Pioneer movement is one of the most prominent institutions in the Soviet system of civic training.

Lenin's widow, Krupskaya, is one of the most active workers in the field of political education and civic training, and has given particular attention to the work among children and young people. She has made the following statement on the general character and aims of the Pioneer movement:

> The Pioneer movement reaches the children at that age when the personality of the individual is still being formed, and it promotes the social instincts of the children, helping to develop in them civic habits and a social consciousness. It places before the children a wonderful goal, that goal which has been brought to the fore by the period through which they are living and for which the workman class of the whole world is fighting. This goal is the liberation of the toilers and the organization of a new order where there will be no division into classes, no oppression, and no exploitation, and where all people will live a full and happy life.

Although the Pioneer movement is under the leadership of the Komsomol, which in turn is under the leadership of the Communist party, it is what is called in the Soviet terminology a "mass" organization, aiming to include all children between the ages of ten and sixteen. But the class principle is present in its structure and activities despite its mass character. Children of the workman class are secured a kind of leadership, although children of peasants at present give the majority of the membership; but children of the new bourgeoisie, and even of the clergy, are admitted to the Pioneer brigade. One of the mottoes of the movement is "The Reserves of the Reserves"; the Pio-

neers are training themselves to take the places of the Young Communists, who in turn are training themselves to carry on the work of Communists. It is in the Komsomol that the so-called "class tempering" side of this training is emphasized.

A children's movement of very limited reach had been started before the Revolution in Russia. After the Russo-Japanese War there developed a movement called "Poteshny," which was distinctly militaristic in character and was under the direction of conservative and nationalistic elements. Emphasis was placed on training for future military service, and the Poteshny wore the regular soldier's uniform. This movement was short-lived and became practically extinct by 1910.

At the same time, in part in opposition to the Poteshny, the boy-scout movement of western Europe and America was brought into Russia. The authorities showed a certain anxiety, in this period of reaction after the revolution of 1905, with respect to this boy-scout movement, which was supported and promoted by liberal groups. In discussing this early "scoutism" which later influenced their own children's movement, the Communists recognize many constructive features, such as the development of courage, habits of co-operation, initiative, civic spirit, and the presenting of an objective of attainment to the children. On the other hand, the Communists consider the boy-scout movement a bourgeois institution because of its emphasis on patriotism and religion.

The provisional government of the February revolution of 1917 had given full freedom of organization to the scout movement and had even actively promoted it. By the time of the October revolution the movement had become widely organized, with a membership of some 50,000. Children of workmen had been brought into the Boy Scouts of Russia, there being no other similar or competing organization which they might join. The bulk of the membership came from the children of the middle class, however, so that from the Communist point of view, at the moment of their seizure of power in October, 1917, the Boy Scouts were potentially, if not actually, one of the bourgeois institutions to be liquidated as part of the revolutionary process. In point of fact, the Boy Scout organizations became dispersed in the conflict and confusion of the first months of the Bolshevik régime. Some of their members joined the youth movement of the Bolsheviks, which later was to form the Komsomol; others became part of the anti-Soviet movement, later organized by the so-called "White Guardists." A large central nucleus took a neutral non-po-

litical line, trying to retain the principles of their movement in a period of civil strife.

During the first years of the Revolution much attention was given to children, as a matter of principle and also because the war and revolution had produced an enormous mass of unprotected and vagrant children. Children's homes were established. A wide program for elementary education was adopted, and in these schools of the first years the children often were also fed the main meal of the day, so that the school had many of the features of the children's homes. Workmen and workingwomen were put on the staffs of the schools, and particularly the homes, for the purpose of counteracting the influence of the teachers, many of whom were not in sympathy with the October revolution. In this way class and Communist training was to be introduced in the homes for children and the schools. At this time the number of schools greatly increased, and the rate of growth seemed to give promise of an early inclusion of all children of school age in the reorganized "Unified Labor School." Therefore, the Communist leaders saw no need for a special children's organization outside of the children's institutions and the schools. The Komsomol in 1919, after a year of formal organization, raised the question of assigning members to schools and children's homes as special leaders and instructors for the political training and activity of the children. A separate children's organization was not contemplated, however.

In the meantime the old boy-scout movement began to revive, leading a sporadic, uncertain existence. Theoretically, it was neutral and non-political; in fact, it was essentially hostile to the principles of the Revolution. Its leadership was without question "bourgeois" from the Communist viewpoint. It was attracting "proletarian" children and drawing them under its influence, thus coming into competition with the Komsomol. Perhaps to meet this situation, although also as part of their general political activity, the local Communists of several provinces started the organizations of "Youthful Communists," or "Yuks" as they came to be called. The Yuks were given the same kind of organization as that of the party and Komsomol and were left to develop without guidance. This more or less independent activity of a few local Communists did not assume large proportions, but it lead to a series of conferences in which the more radical element among the leaders of the boy-scout movement also participated. The Peoples' Commissariat of Health was beginning to turn its attention to the problem of physical training among children and also was represented at these conferences, as was the Commissariat of Education. A com-

promise was reached, under which the Yuks were approved, although in their organization many features of scoutism were introduced. The leaders of the scout movement who had survived the years of strife were able to secure a place in the new movement; many scout organizations simply renamed themselves and became Yuks. The ideology of the movement was vague, and boy-scout methods and practices were copied. The Communists and the Komsomol accepted this compromise because they did not have the workers to give to this field, important as they considered it.

Soon, however, it was decided that the compromise was a mistake, and the Komsomol voted that the Yuk movement be liquidated, the physical development work among the youth turned over to it, and the proletarian element of the movement brought into its membership. The age qualification for admission to the Komsomol was reduced from sixteen to fourteen years. At the same time the Komsomol congress of October, 1919, voted that all athletic associations and circles be investigated and closed down if found to be "counter-revolutionary" in character. This special attention by the Komsomol to physical training was dictated also by the need of military training of the youth in this time of crisis. In 1920 the Red army attained its greatest size, of over five millions. The physical development program developed in connection with preparation for military service reached down to the young people who had been brought into the scout movement.

The new period coming in 1921 lead to a new development in the field of work among the children. The New Economic Policy and the economic conditions which had lead to its adoption created new conditions for the children. The number of schools and children's homes had to be greatly reduced. The living conditions of the urban centers had become particularly hard on the children of the workman class. The civil war, the famine, and the breakdown of the family had produced an enormous number of orphans. Finally the Communists feared that the reappearance of "bourgeois" principles and methods in the economic life would exert an influence on the children. The "ideological training" of the children was put in jeopardy, as the bourgeoisie was again raising its head. The party, and particularly the Komsomol, were having to combat the influence of the new hostile forces within their own well-organized ranks. The Komsomol determined that attention must be given also to the children in order to guarantee a Communist training in the new conditions.

At first the Komsomol did not attempt to start a mass organiza-

tion of children; its own strength and resources were inadequate for such a program. It set out to strengthen the influence of the Komsomol in schools and children's homes. To this end members were assigned to lecture, to hold discussions, and to organize excursions and dramatic performances for the children. The children were brought into the celebrations of revolutionary holidays and events; the Revolution was beginning to celebrate its victories and achievements. Saturday work was one of the practices of this period for emphasizing Communist ideas and leadership, and was extended also to the children. Gymnastic exercises and games were initiated. Finally, newspapers and pamphlets were published for the children. These activities represented the program which would be given more effective promotion as soon as economic conditions and material resources would permit. The counteracting of the "demoralizing" influence of the New Economic Policy was the immediate aim; but at the same time the idea of giving the children a positive political training, particularly by bringing them into practical political activity and into the class struggle, was present in this early stage of the new and wholly Communist movement among children.

Work along these lines progressed slowly among the children of Moscow. There was sporadic discussion of it in the Communist and the Komsomol press. Finally a local Moscow conference was called, and representatives of the scout movement who had come to take a more sympathetic attitude toward the Komsomol were invited to the conference. It had been decided that any movement must be on the initiative and under the leadership of the Komsomol but the Komsomol was willing to use some of the ideas and methods of boy-scoutism. This conference decided to start children's organizations in workman quarters independent and outside of the school or children's home. The members of these groups were to be called "Young Scouts," and three brigades of these were formed.

The by-laws and program of the Young Scouts were worked out slowly and with difficulty, and represented another compromise between the principles of scoutism and those of the Komsomol. Only the left element of the scout leaders accepted the program, which provided for close co-operation between the Komsomol and the children's organization, although the latter was not to be an integral part of the Komsomol. In addition the movement was to be frankly political in character and semiparty, and in any case, not "non-party." Leadership was to be supplied by the Komsomol. Some of the scout leaders who opposed the Komsomol leadership of the movement tried to hold

an independent conference. They were arrested, and the closing down of their conference seemed to mark the final liquidation of the former scout movement and of the opposition to the Komsomol or Communist monopoly of the organization of children in the Soviet Union. Very soon a new name was adopted to eliminate the use of the word "scout," and the groups already formed became "Young Pioneers."

In the Ukraine a different tendency had manifested itself during 1922. Here the local Communists refused to use any of the ideas or methods of the scout movement in their work among children. They mechanically transferred to the children the system of organization and structure of the party, with cells, bureaus, and conferences. They limited their activity practically to children in institutions; their efforts were not at all in the direction of a mass organization among children. Further, they made political and general questions the center of their interest, approaching children as they did the youth of the Komsomol and even the mature members of the party. The fifth congress of the Komsomol in October, 1922, voted against the methods adopted in the Ukraine, as beyond the reach of the average child. It adopted, on the other hand, the Moscow program, which had been worked out in detail by this date. This congress is taken as the real beginning of the Soviet Pioneer movement.

By October, 1923, there were some 4,000 Young Pioneers, and the number has been increased to 10,000 by the beginning of 1924. At last, after long preliminary groping and discussion and with the return of more normal economic conditions, the movement began to spread. Seeing the rapid growth of the movement and attaching importance to the content of its work, governmental authorities gave generous material assistance. The Komsomol and party congresses of 1924 passed long resolutions outlining the tasks of the movement, the party promising all possible help to the Komsomol, which now assumed formal direction. By the beginning of 1925 the membership had passed the million mark. The name of Lenin was adopted in the official full name of the organization.

A widening of the scope of the movement also came in 1925. It was decided to reach even younger children, those as young as eight years of age. The Pioneers were given the task of working among their younger brothers and sisters and of organizing them into groups of "Little Octobrists," in honor of the Bolshevik revolution of October, 1917. The rate of growth of the Pioneers slackened somewhat by the end of 1925 and the beginning of 1926, although by July 1, 1926, there were 1,832,587 Young Pioneers and 273,909 Little Octobrists,

making a total of 2,106,506. This was a larger membership than that of the Komsomol of the same date. It was estimated that on the first of January, 1926, the movement had reached about 6 per cent of the children of the Pioneer age (ten to sixteen) of the Soviet Union. The July 1, 1926, membership was organized in 45,129 brigades, of which about 63 per cent were situated in rural communities. Of the total membership, 51.1 per cent came from the children of peasants; 33.4 per cent from the workman class; and 15.5 per cent from "others," which would include toiling intelligentsia, office workers, and the new bourgeoisie. The percentage of the toiling intelligentsia had been the largest in the beginning; the children of Communists in administrative positions had been the first to be brought into the movement. Then attention was directed primarily to the children of workmen. Finally, the Pioneers also worked under the motto of "Face to the Peasants" adopted by the Communists and the Soviet authorities during 1925. About two-fifths of the members were girls, although the percentage of girls had somewhat declined during the two years of rapid growth.

There had been considerable dropping out of members. This fact will be discussed in connection with the weaknesses manifested, and acknowledged and explained as the result of the very rapid spread of the organization. Proposals that mechanical means be taken deliberately to reduce the rate of growth were rejected, although it was decided to make particular effort to bring into the organization the children of workmen, of agricultural laborers, and of poor peasants, who were not being received into the schools because of the shortage of places. The suggestions to confine new members to certain categories, such as the children of Communists, or girls, or the children of agricultural laborers, were not considered expedient. Such a policy would be opposed to the aim that the Pioneers be a mass organization.

The principles of organization in the Pioneer movement were finally determined by the Communists, through the Komsomol. In a city the base for each Pioneer brigade must if possible be a factory. A children's home or a workman's club may serve as the center for organizing the group of children, but only when it is not possible to use the factory with its proletarian influence. In any case, the school or the territorial area is never used. In rural districts, on the other hand, the village school has to be used for lack of a better base. For children who are not in school, a school may be used as the base in an urban district. In such instances the leader of the brigade must be a workman and not one of the staff of the school.

Thus the basis of the organization is, so far as possible, a place of "production," so that the principle of production will be brought into the life of the child as early as possible. The brigade in every case is assigned to a Komsomol cell, one of the members of which becomes the leader of the brigade. It is as leaders of brigades that many members of the Komsomol fulfil their obligation of civic activity. The local committees, as well as the Central Committee, of the Komsomol have their "Section on Pioneers" to supervise and direct the work of these brigade leaders. "Thus the leadership of the brigade is in the hands of an active, physically mobile, young person, full of life and the joy of life, and a proletarian," to quote from one of the responsible workers in the Komsomol and Pioneer movements. Though untrained as pedagogues, these leaders are in touch with the life of young people. Many of them lived through the big events of the Revolution as children already conscious of the meaning of what was going on. It was for these reasons that they were made the actual working and responsible leaders of each group of children.

Brigades are limited to from forty to fifty members, subdivided into four or five "links" of ten members each. The link also has a leader elected by the group from its own number. The link leaders and the brigade leader, with a representative of the bureau of the Komsomol cell to which the brigade is attached, form the council or Soviet of the brigade. Every brigade is given the name of some revolutionary leader or organization, while each link takes the name of an implement of work or of a field of production, such as "The Hammer," or "The Carpenter." There are both brigade and link meetings, for general discussion and planning of activities, for the election of officers, and for the admission of new members and other routine business. The small unit was adopted to promote discipline and also initiative, and the smallness of the unit makes it possible to prevent the development of an "actif" with a corresponding "passif." As in the Komsomol, all members of the Pioneer organizations must be active. It is believed that this flexible, simple, economical, and easily understood type of organization gives full opportunity for the children to act for themselves, develop voluntary self-organization, and show activity, while at the same time there is the necessary provision for constant and firm leadership.

A group of Little Octobrists is limited to twenty-five members divided into five links of five members each, and is organized by and under a Pioneer brigade. In each link is a Pioneer leader, and the Octobrist group is under a special group leader selected by the Komsomol

cell to which the Pioneer unit is attached. The Octobrist group constitutes an integral part of the Pioneer brigade. The members of each link elect an assistant leader to work with the Pioneer leader of the link and the Komsomol leader of the group.

It has been noted that the age limits for these Communist and Communist training organizations overlap. The Little Octobrists range from eight to eleven years of age, the Pioneers from ten to sixteen, the members of the Komsomol from fourteen to twenty-three, and one may join the party at the age of eighteen. Little Octobrists who become Pioneers before they reach eleven years of age remain Little Octobrists until the expiration of the age limit. Similarly, although with less rigidity, Komsomol members remain Pioneers until the expiration of the age limit for the latter; and Communists continue as active members of the Komsomol until they automatically lose membership because of age. Thus, in each organization there is the nucleus of the next higher organization, and it has the responsibility of leadership.

A *Guide for the Young Pioneer* states that the organization is open to the children of toilers, and first of all to children of workmen and peasants. Thus the class principle is less stressed although it is not eliminated in the procedure for admission. The practice goes even farther, and the policy advocated is to admit even children of the new bourgeoisie and of priests, where they can prove that they will make good Pioneers. New members are proposed by the "link" through the Soviet brigade, but they must be voted on at a general meeting of the brigade. The new member must pass through a period of candidacy of not less than two months. During this period the boy or girl must learn the laws and customs of Pioneers and show that he or she is observing them. Only after this test which often is supplemented by a formal examination on these laws and customs, is the new member allowed to take the solemn promise and wear the insignia and carry the membership card of the Pioneers. Members may be excluded for transgressing the laws and customs of Pioneers and for failure to submit to Pioneer discipline.

For children the Communist admit the usefulness and need of decorative emblems. Some Communists, it is true, raised objections to the use of such methods, but the majority held that it was necessary and legitimate to appeal to the children's demand for outward decoration. Children are children even if they are Pioneers of Communism, and they like ribbons and dressing up, it was argued. Therefore a special badge, a simple uniform, a salute of greeting, and a system of sym-

bols were adopted, in addition to a ceremonial for the formal admission to membership and a "solemn promise" as part of the ceremonial. Thus there is appeal to the imagination as well as to the intelligence of the child. The symbolism is a revolutionary one with a precise content. As one writer explains, the Pioneer symbolism aims to arouse "fiery hate for oppressors, love for and solidarity with the oppressed, thus developing revolutionary enthusiasm and spirit."

The Pioneer badge is a red flag on which are the Soviet symbols of the hammer and the sickle and a camp fire of five logs burning with three flames. The motto on the badge is "Always Ready." The five logs represent the five continents of the earth, in terms of which the Pioneer as a future international revolutionary must always think. The three flames represent the III or Communist International. The full text of the motto is summarized on the badge in the form of an exhortation: "For the struggle in the cause of the workmen, be ready," with the response "Always Ready." The Little Octobrists may not wear the badge, but a red star is sewn on the front of the shirt over the heart. In addition to the badge the Pioneer wears a red kerchief around the neck and tied in a knot on the chest. Before being put on, the kerchief is folded in a triangular shape; its three corners stand for the three Communist organizations, the party, the Komsomol, and the Pioneers. As this kerchief is tied, the Pioneer is to think of the solemn promise by which he or she is tied to the laws and customs of Pioneers and to the precepts of Lenin. The red color of the kerchief also reminds the Pioneers of the coming struggle that is before them. The uniform recommended and generally worn on brigade occasions is a semi-athletic shirt with trousers for the boys and skirts for the girls. Considerations of economy dictated the adoption of the simplest uniform possible. In cold weather the uniform is of course covered by the overcoat, with respect to which there can be no attempt at uniformity. Each link of a brigade has its own flag, bearing the emblems of the Pioneers and its link and brigade names. The solemn promise is taken facing the flag, and the flags are carried in processions and demonstrations and also on excursions and trips.

The salute of greeting is the raising of the hand, with fingers pressed tightly together, to a position just in front of and above the forehead. It is a very pleasing and graceful gesture. The Communists vehemently deny that the Pioneer salute has anything in common with the old military salute. The five fingers, like the logs on the camp fire, stand for the five continents closely knit together in a common movement. The position of the hand above the head means that the Pioneer

is subordinating his individual will to the aims of the movement. These are the main themes in the interpretation of the symbols, although more detailed explanations are given in the literature prepared for the Pioneers.

The right to wear the badge and kerchief and to give the salute is acquired only after making the "solemn promise" required of the Pioneers. The celebration of the International Children's Day is used as one occasion for the ceremonial of promise for those who are admitted after the special drive for membership in August before the opening of the school year. In Moscow the ceremony takes place in the Red Square, in front of the Lenin Mausoleum and in the presence of high Soviet officials. Ordinarily the ceremony is staged at a general meeting of the brigade, in the presence of a representative from the Komsomol and, if possible, from the Communist party. The solemn promise is short and precise:

> I, a young Pioneer of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, in the presence of my comrades solemnly promise that (1) I shall stand steadfastly for the cause of the workman class in its struggle for the liberation of the workmen and peasants of the whole world; (2) I shall honestly and constantly carry out the precepts of Ilich, the laws and the customs of the Young Pioneers.

In referring to Lenin the peasant custom of using familiarly the patronymic is adopted. The "precepts of Ilich" have been shortly summarized in a *Guide for the Young Pioneers*, as follows:

> The whole task of Communists is to know how to convince the backward, to work among them and not fence themselves off from them.
>
> To learn to work—this is the task in its full scope which the Soviet authority must put before the people.
>
> Less fervent phrases and more simple everyday work.
>
> In the last analysis the fate of our Republic will depend on whether the peasant masses go with the workman class, remaining loyal to their alliance with the latter.
>
> The real task of building the Communist society confronts precisely the youth of today.
>
> Without productive work and actual struggle a book knowledge of Communism acquired from Communist pamphlets and writings is worth absolutely nothing.
>
> You would make a great mistake if you were to draw the conclusion that it is possible to become a Communist without having absorbed what has been accumulated by the mind of man.
>
> Only in actual work together with workmen and peasants is it possible to become a real Communist.

There are five "laws" and five so-called "customs." The laws are interpreted as moral obligations assumed so that the Pioneer will subordinate his personal life to the aims of the movement, and read:

1. The Pioneer is faithful to the cause of the workman class and to the precepts of Ilich.
2. The Pioneer is the younger brother and helper of the Young Communist and the Communist.
3. The Pioneer organizes other children and joins with them in their life. The Pioneer is an example to all children.
4. The Pioneer is a comrade to other Pioneers, and to the workman and peasant children of the whole world.
5. The Pioneer strives for knowledge. Knowledge and understanding are the great forces in the struggle for the cause of the workman.

These laws are supplemented by five customs:

1. The Pioneer protects his own health and that of others. He is tolerant and cheerful. He rises early in the morning and does his setting-up exercises.
2. The Pioneer economizes his own time and that of others. He does his task quickly and promptly.
3. The Pioneer is industrious and persevering, knows how to work collectively under all and any conditions, and finds a way out in all circumstances.
4. The Pioneer is saving of the people's property, is careful with his books and clothes and the equipment of the workshop.
5. The Pioneer does not swear, smoke, or drink.

The Little Octobrists also have their laws and customs. Their laws are:

1. The Little Octobrists help the Pioneers, the Young Communists, Communists, workmen, and peasants.
2. The Little Octobrists strive to become Young Pioneers.

Their customs, also two in number, are equally simple:

1. Little Octobrists are careful to be neat and clean in body and clothes.
2. Little Octobrists love to work.

Thus concrete rules of conduct are given to the children and constitute a kind of special code for Pioneers; they correspond to the by-laws and programs of the Komsomol and party. Only for the children was it found expedient and permissible to formulate and impose set rules of social conduct.

Pioneer work, as it is called, may be classified under the various activities into which the children are to be drawn by the movement.

The general purpose of all these activities is to train the children upon specific lines. A definition appearing in the introduction to one of the best summaries of the content of the work of the Pioneers reiterates the general formulas which are found throughout the literature on the subject:

> We understand training of the children as preparing them for future civic activity. The future civic activity of the children of Soviet Russia, and also of the proletarian children of all other countries, will consist in the main of continuing the grand cause of the struggle, started by Ilich, against all oppressors, for the liberation of the toilers of the whole world and for the building of a Communistic society. The preparing of people of that kind, that is of Communists, will be in fact their Communist training.

The activity of the brigade is planned for each week. This is done at the three weekly meetings, one of the whole brigade and two link meetings. At these meetings the work done is reported upon. The obligation to report is strongly emphasized and very generally enforced. The following rules are held out as the ideal for the activity: All members must be brought into attractive and useful work. In the Pioneers there are not two divisions, active and passive; all must be active. There is collective control by the Pioneers themselves over each individual member, of link or brigade, effected through the obligation of reporting. Mutual help during the performance of the task is one of the Pioneers' laws, as we saw; and economy of time, energy, and money is constantly stressed. These methods, it is believed, best develop initiative, self-activity, perseverance, and adaptability to conditions and various kinds of tasks.

A portion of the activities of the brigade is within, and confined to, the brigade. Such, for example, is preparation for participation in campaigns or celebrations. The political and economic significance of a drive or a celebration is presented by the Komsomol leader in simple terms. The political knowledge of the children is thus developed. Brigade meetings also take up the discussion of the practical problems which have confronted the members in their work outside the brigade, in children's homes, factories, schools, or villages. General questions, such as the origin of the world and religion, are to be brought into these discussions where it is feasible to do so. It is claimed that the children evince a particularly keen interest in the discussion of such general points. The laws and customs of the Pioneers are discussed and analyzed, particularly in connection with the admission of new members or the exclusion of unworthy ones. In all these discussions the practice of questions and answers is recommended and would

seem to be used to a considerable extent. Excursions and trips are made to secure illustrative matter on a subject that has been under discussion. On special occasions, non-members, waifs, parents, or the workmen of the factory which serves as the base of the brigade are invited to attend a brigade meeting. These general meetings become exhibitions (through reports) of work accomplished, although they also have discussions.

The brigade organizes circles of its members for study or manual training. Some circles take up, for example, the study of foreign languages, while other equip and work in modest little workshops. The workshops are often planned so as to supply the brigade with the simple furniture for its headquarters and with its banners and posters. The study of implements and instruments is the interest of some circles. All this internal educational work of the brigade is to be closely associated with the social and political activity of the brigade, however; and the principle of production, of doing something socially useful, is always emphasized. Pioneer clubs serving several brigades have been established in the large cities, and in these the work of the circles can be developed on a larger scale and with better equipment.

Every brigade is expected to have its "wall newspaper," under the direction of the circle of children's correspondents. All circles are organized on the voluntary principle, and this is one of the more popular of them. Here the children are to come to understand the significance of the press in general and particularly of their own Pioneer press. The institution of correspondents, which will be discussed later, covers also the children; and the newspapers and journals of the Pioneers carry a large number of contributions from children correspondents. For the direction of the circle of correspondents a Komsomol member who has received theoretical and practical training in the line of journalism is assigned as a special leader and director of work. These circles are considered particularly important because they establish contacts and the exchange of letters with children of other countries, or between children of distant and different parts of the Soviet Union.

In the headquarters of the brigade each link has its own "corner," which it fits up and keeps in order as one of its tasks. The link will use its particular name as the main motive in the decorating of its corner. Competition between links is used to arouse interest in this work, which has the practical side of making more attractive what often are very crude quarters. This activity also aims to promote the study of political and economic questions, as the link names are chosen, as we saw, from the fields of politics and economics. In a Pioneer club a

"Lenin brigade" carries the special responsibility of equipping with portraits, posters, mottoes, and other material the Lenin Corner of the institution.

The Little Octobrists attached to a Pioneer brigade are brought into the activity of the latter. Here, however, supervision is exercised by a doctor or a teacher. Special discussions are held for these younger children, and they are admitted to the general meetings of the brigade and to the excursions. The maximum time for the activities of the Little Octobrists is fixed at from three to four hours per week.

The most important activity of the Pioneers outside the brigade is in the school. The Pioneers of a given school, often belonging to different brigades, form a "Pioneer Forepost" which is a part of the organization of the school administration. In the discussion of the system of self-government in the Soviet Labor School the place of the Forepost will be more fully described. As members of the Forepost, the Pioneers must set an example to other children in the matter of study. As to general school activities, a very responsible rôle is assigned to the children's movement. "The school helps to give depth to the children's movement, and the children's movement is essential to the building up of the new type of school," writes Krupskaya. The children's movement was taken up by the Communist in 1923 in part in order to introduce into the school their ideas of civic training. The Central Committee of the Komsomol and the People's Commissariat of Education co-operated closely to define the tasks of the Pioneers in the school.

It is the particular obligation of the Pioneers to develop the social-political activities of all the children in the school. They must be very active in all fields where the pupils assert themselves and organize. The Pioneers must urge and push others to study and acquire knowledge. In a word, the Forepost is the kernel which guarantees a Communist influence in the school. Pioneers are to see that the whole school takes part in drives, demonstrations, and revolutionary celebrations. They bring other pupils into the simple tasks which the Pioneers perform for the party, the Komsomol, or the trade-unions. They establish contacts between the school and factory or other centers of production. The Pioneers are active in the editing of the wall newspaper of the school and in the circles formed by the pupils of the school, having a member on every one of the circles. They organize lectures and discussions, establish and fit up corners and particularly the Lenin Corner of the school. They carry on propaganda for their own movement and that of the Komsomol. The Pioneers must be

prominent in the "self-government" of the pupils, striving for the positions of leadership in the various committees of pupils. They help the "progressive" teachers, while at the same time they combat old teaching methods where such are still practiced. Finally they carry on a campaign against "religious prejudices" among other pupils. The frankly atheistic, antireligious element in the Pioneer movement will be discussed later.

To each Forepost there is attached a Komsomol member who comes to the school once a week, generally to plan with the members an excursion or a trip for the Saturday or Sunday. This Young Communist must be a workman if it is possible so to arrange. He is quite outside of, and independent of, the school authorities, although he will in most instances consult and co-operate with the teachers. Having responsible charge of the children often for a whole day, this young leader has the possibility of exerting a very considerable influence on them. One heard from some teachers high praise of these untrained but conscientious Komsomol leaders. On the other hand there were expressions of doubt as to the wisdom of intrusting the children to such leadership. Pupils other than Pioneers may be included in the excursions, which generally have an educational, and particularly a political educational, aim. The wide and varied use of excursions for political training is taken up as a subject by itself. In general, the excursions aim to bring the children into contact with contemporary life and events. The excursions often are simple picnics, but more frequently museums are visited and factories, villages, or the barracks of a regiment are emphasized in the planning of the excursions.

In all this activity within the school the Pioneers must not become a privileged group, a kind of sect. As in the case of the Communists and Young Communists, the Pioneers carry special responsibilities but do not enjoy special privileges. On the whole the facts seem to conform with the theory; and in the few scattered instances where the subject of the rôle of the Pioneers was discussed with teachers, the attitude of the latter was favorable to the movement. Several talks with the young leaders of the Forepost of a school gave the impression that the position had developed a real sense of responsibility without the element of arrogance.

In children's homes the rôle of the Pioneers is much the same in character as in the schools. In the smaller group of a children's home there will be a larger proportion of Pioneers, for these homes from the beginning were the centers of attention to the political training of the children. Instead of a Forepost of a dozen or so, there is frequently a

whole brigade of Pioneers. The children in these institutions are generally of one class—the workman class. Further, living together contributes to collectivist activities, the sense of solidarity, and the development of close comradely relations. In a sense the children's homes themselves are pioneer institutions of Communist training; in them one finds the Pioneer movement particularly strong and developed.

With respect to the life of the home and the family the Pioneers have a positive rôle to play; Pioneer activity within the family group is even missionary in character. On the ground that the conditions in the family and family life in general have not kept up with the revolutionary movement in other fields, such as the school, the children who are brought into touch with the new ideas through the Pioneer brigade are to be one of the forces working to introduce the new principles also into the family. In the first place the Pioneer becomes the champion of cleanliness and particularly of fresh air. He or she sees that the younger children wash their hands and faces before eating. The low standards of living of Russian workmen and peasants give a real importance to these homely tasks. Further, in case of illness in the family the Pioneer is to insist that a doctor be called in. If parents give drink to younger children, the Pioneer must protest.

While helping the mother in the housework, the Pioneer must talk about such institutions as the *crèche*, the community laundries, and the co-operative dining-rooms, of which he has learned from the brigades' discussions and excursions. Where the parents are illiterate, the Pioneer talks them into learning to read and write. Also he helps his younger brothers and sisters to read and takes them occasionally to the Pioneer club or brings them into the Little Octobrist movement. Bringing newspapers and pamphlets home and reading them to the family, the Pioneer agitates for the regular subscription to a newspaper and for the purchase of books. The Pioneers try to have their parents subscribe to the various voluntary civic organizations. Finally the Pioneer is to persuade the parents always to participate in the revolutionary celebrations and holidays. To further these activities the Pioneer is urged to set up a little political corner in the home, with newspapers, pamphlets, posters, and mottoes. If possible, the Pioneer is to put a picture of Lenin on the wall, next to the sacred image. In this way, and by emphasizing revolutionary holidays in opposition to the religious feast days, the Pioneer is to combat the "prejudices of religion" in the family life.

On all activity, and especially activity in the family, the Pioneers are expected to report regularly at the brigade meeting. The leader

of the brigade is urged to become acquainted with the family life of each Pioneer in order better to help and advise. Where a Pioneer encounters opposition, particularly on the part of a drinking father, and needs protection as well as help, the matter may be taken to the Factory Committee of the establishment where the father or mother is employed. It is recommended that such procedure be used with care to avoid embittering the parents. Here attention should be called to the positive prohibition against the infliction of corporal punishment on children in the family as well as in the school. The practice in Russia of whipping and beating the wife and children was the background of this law, and the Pioneer is urged and helped to enforce it. Parents, particularly the peasant fathers and mothers, complain of this law; from what evidence one could gather, they are in fact forced to observe it. On the other hand, the Pioneer and also the Young Communist are enjoined to recognize the obligations they owe to the family, and the importance of family ties. Only if life in the family becomes utterly unbearable is the Pioneer to break away and leave his family hearth. We shall note elsewhere how the influence of the family is now being sought and given organized expression. But through the Pioneers it is hoped to develop a new life in the family.

There is the element of practical social and political activity in the work done within the brigade, in the school and in the family. To bring the children constantly into the surrounding life through very practical tasks is the essence of this Communist training. Also, from the earliest years the children are to prepare themselves for the actual participation in the building of the new order. Pioneers therefore "help their older comrades, the Young Communists and the Communists." They assist in the decorating of the headquarters of the Factory Committee, for example. They distribute literature and run errands in connection with the preparation for and the carrying out of a drive or celebration. They solicit subscriptions to voluntary organizations and make posters to be used in the campaigns for such subscriptions. They sell tickets for entertainments given at the Workmen's Club. They give their services to the Infants' Corner of the club, where the workingwoman leaves her child while attending meetings of the club. They help the librarian of the Workmen's Club to record and give out the books and magazines. It is urged that these tasks be not simply assigned to the Pioneers; the Pioneers must offer their services on their own initiative.

The Pioneers are to be brought into the work particularly of the patronage committee or section of the factory club or Komsomol

committee which has assumed the responsibility for helping a particular village or group of villages in the name of the factory or the workmen's club. Excursions are organized for the distribution of literature, for the joint celebration of a revolutionary holiday, or merely for general contact. Pioneers are taken along to teach the peasant children games and give the rural Pioneer brigade the benefit of the greater progress in organization and activity of the urban brigade. In fact the urban brigades themselves exercise a kind of general patronage with respect to rural brigades, giving it a practical aspect by participating in the patronage work of the factory to which they are assigned, or in connection with their summer camps, which will be discussed later.

So that the children will in fact take the initiative in helping the older comrades, they are to be brought into the meetings and discussions of their elders, at the factory committees or workmen's clubs, or even at a meeting of the party or Komsomol cell. Where a local entertainment is being staged, a place may be provided for the children. It will be recalled that the base of every Pioneer brigade is a factory or mill or some other center of production, so that the inclusion of the attached brigade in an entertainment or at a meeting would not be forced. It is difficult to judge just how far the older workmen adopt the policy urged on them, of making these children really "members of the family" of the workman class by allowing them to ask questions at meetings and even participate in discussions. The workmen are asked to promote such joint meetings and to use them to explain to the children the economics of the processes of production, the organization of co-operatives, or the principles of the club and its structure. In the program for Pioneer work adopted at the sixth congress of the Komsomol, these activities for and with their elders are stressed, on the ground that they

> develop a proletarian class consciousness, impart to the Pioneers a certain amount of factual knowledge necessary to understand the basic facts of contemporary social life, and give them the method to evaluate these facts and the ability to form a judgment relative to the fundamental facts of the surrounding actuality, teaching the child to think of a common aim, developing the spirit of a common, proletarian world-solidarity, arousing and developing their collectivist, creative talents.

Most of the urban brigades either go camping in the country during the summer or make frequent excursions to neighboring peasant communities. On these trips, which aim primarily to give the children fresh air, exercise, and relaxation, the Pioneer must also perform defi-

nite civic duties. In the program for the day, worked out hour by hour, two or three hours are assigned to social-political activity. The city Pioneers in camps or on excursions get acquainted and play with the peasant children. They agitate in favor of the school, among parents as well as children. They decorate, or even equip with some simple apparatus, the village schoolhouse. To win the respect and good will of the peasant parents, they help with little tasks about the village. By organizing discussions and talks with the local peasant children the brigade in camp can contribute to the cultural development of the backward village. Here also the ideas of the Revolution, of peasant and workman movements, and particularly of the alliance between workmen and peasants are to be brought up and explained. They must contribute to the strengthening of the alliance between peasants and workmen, between rural and urban groups. They must not adopt an attitude of superiority toward the less cultured peasant children.

The urban Pioneers, like the older Communists, are warned that the process of retraining the peasants will be a long one. There is always the first and comparatively simple task of spreading literacy. And too, the Pioneers from the city are expected to "combat prejudices resulting from ignorance of the laws of nature," and under this slogan not only fight superstition but also carry on a positive anti-religious propaganda. Finally the urban Pioneers are urged to initiate and lead excursions of peasant children to the city to see factories and museums, or to a neighboring Soviet estate run on collectivist principles. These excursions, it is explained, will tend to give a more practical meaning to the new ideas which the city children are expected to take to their less conscious and less active comrades of the village.

The leadership of the urban with respect to the rural element is thus made a matter of principle also in the Pioneer movement. Conditions justify the assuming of this leadership. The children of the Russian village are notoriously passive and backward. The Pioneer movement started in the cities, as we saw; but it has had particular success in the villages during the years of its rapid growth. It is needed especially among the peasant children to bring to them some little joy and interest. The spread to the rural communities has furnished a field for practical social and political activity to the urban brigades. The influence of the Pioneers in the direction of stirring up political thinking and activity in the villages, among the mature peasants as well as among the children, has been very considerable.

The activities of the rural Pioneer brigade must be adapted to the village conditions. In some respects such activity is easier to organize because of the simplicity and compactness of village life. The Pioneers help to decorate the Soviet buildings, the school, and the village reading-room. As in the city school, they must be the active element among the children, inside and outside the school, and assist and at the same time in a way control the teacher. In their home they must combat the prevalent practice of giving alcoholic drink to children and also the use of the "opium of religion." Like their city brothers and sisters, they agitate for subscriptions to newspapers and to the various societies with political-propaganda aims. Along practical productive lines, the village Pioneer brigade will have its little garden or orchard, organize competitions in caring for animals, or establish little workshops to make simple articles needed in the peasant home. Finally, they give actual assistance to their elders, outside the household chores which fall on the peasant child, by helping in the fighting of pests or by filling in and repairing bad places in the road. By such activities the Pioneers are expected to win the respect and support of the community and to overcome the unfriendly attitude which the older, conservative peasants have shown toward the movement.

Pioneer activity is not "all work and no play." Games and sports have a very considerable place in the children's movement of the Communists. While the Communists recognize that there must be the element of play in physical training, they insist that it is possible to make sports and games practical and useful without destroying the interest in them. Discipline and the development of team work are features of sport and games which the Soviet leaders of course welcome. But the Communists also emphasize the inclusion of a political and social purpose as well as the purely health aspect, and try to have the games prepare for the particular kind of problem which the Soviet citizen will later be meeting, and to establish rules which will fit in with the new social order.

Games must be based, as to content, on the surrounding setting and must correspond to the ideology of the proletariat. If a war game is played, the fighting must be not between nations but between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, or between the Red army and the Whites. In a provincial newspaper for Pioneers, in the number featuring the coming of the International Children's Day, a new game was suggested for Soviet children. This game resembled somewhat the American "Prisoners' Base," but it was called "Getting the Revolu-

tionary Literature over the Frontier." An underground revolutionary committee on the other side of the carefully guarded frontier was one of the features of the game.

The Pioneer movement has been brought into the drives to solve the problem of the vagrant children. In the extension of the brigades special attention is given to the children exposed to the temptations of the street while their parents are away at work, for these children are supplying the fresh recruits which join the bands of little vagrants that still run wild in the streets of the cities, despite all measures to salvage and restrain them. It is probably among these rather than among the apparently confirmed little vagrants that the Pioneers are urged to organize games. Pioneers should join in with these children and help them to play constructive games instead of games that lead only to fighting. Also these potential vagrants should be brought as guests to the open meetings held by the brigade.

The Pioneer movement has its own press and literature. The newspapers and magazines are edited by the central or local committees of the Komsomol. The newspapers carry articles on general political and economic topics which generally follow the line of corresponding articles in the party and Komsomol press. Developments in China, the British strike, the Polish situation, or other events in the outside world are given much attention. The Pioneers are kept informed of discussions within the party and of the leading political issues of the moment. Thus their newspapers bring the children into the contemporary political discussions and emphasize the political tendencies in other countries as interpreted from a Communist point of view. The amount of space and attention given to political questions, and particularly to international matters, is considerable. Discussion of problems of the movement itself constitutes the other main part of the newspaper. Through the "children correspondents" there is real discussion, and in this respect the Pioneer press has been usually successful. The newspapers and especially the magazines give practical suggestions on the various lines of activity of the Pioneer brigades; the recommendation of new games has already been mentioned. Like all the Soviet and Communist periodical publications, the Pioneer newspapers and magazines give much space to announcements of books and pamphlets.

Books and pamphlets of both theoretical and practical character are published for the Pioneers, a large number dealing with the political aspect of the movement. This literature has been classified by the Central Pioneer Cabinet, and lists of recommended books prepared,

one for the libraries of the brigades themselves and another for the Komsomol brigade leaders. Of particular interest are the many guides for the Young Pioneer. One of these *Guides* may be briefly described. The title-page is headed by the motto, "For the Struggle in the Cause of the Workmen Be Ready!" and the first page by the other motto, "The Second Reserves Are Coming to Relieve the First Reserves," which can be expressed in Russian in the three short words, *Smena Smene Idyot.* This first page is to be filled in by the Pioneer, giving name, age, brigade, weight, and height, and is signed by the brigade leader. Lenin's picture, with the subscription "Our Road Is the Road of Ilich," is followed by a short sketch of his life. Then follow the eight "precepts of Ilich" given above. In a few words other Communist leaders, beginning with Marx and Engels, are characterized and their pictures given. Then the main proletarian anniversaries and holidays are briefly described. Under the title "Our Friends throughout the Whole World" the Communist children's movements in other countries are summarized. For Norway, for example, it is explained that "now 5,000 children are carrying on the revolutionary struggle." It is stated that in the United States there are also 5,000 in a "Union of Pioneers," with a monthly publication of 8,000 circulation.

The *Guide* then gives short chapters on "Our Brothers of the Komsomol" and "Our Elder Comrades, the Communists." The next chapters summarize Pioneer activities in brigade, school, and village. Extracts from the constitution and by-laws, description of the symbols and salute, and the texts of the laws and customs and of the solemn promise are given. An information section supplies the calendar of the Young Pioneer, indicating the dates to be remembered and honored, such as Lenin's birthday and the date of his death, the Paris Commune, May first, and so forth. Suggestions to children correspondents are included here, and rules of health and exercise. At the end of this section is a brief statement on the character of the Soviet Union, its constitution and population. Short tables summarize production in industry and agriculture of the last years. The texts of the "International" and of the more usual Pioneer songs, such as "The Young Guard," are supplied. Finally pages are furnished for recording the names and addresses of other members of the brigade, the tasks performed and reported on, books recommended and read, and a schedule of the school work by days and hours.

The Pioneer movement is a single one for the entire Union, like the Komsomol, through whose committees it is in fact co-ordinated.

The by-laws and program are the same for independent as well as for autonomous units of the Soviet Union. The nationality element is taken into account only in the use of the local language and the study of the local regions in the program of Pioneer activities; otherwise nationality is subordinated to an international outlook. These children are the pioneers of Communism and are not Russian pioneers. The participation of the Soviet Pioneers in an international movement is emphasized. The International Youth Week, for example, serves as an occasion for the ceremony of admission to membership. Correspondence with children of other countries who have been organized by Communists or left-wing socialists is one of the Pioneer activities. The first political campaign in which the Pioneers took part was in October, 1923, at the moment of the development of a revolutionary situation in Germany. The Soviet Pioneers took steps to give moral and material assistance to German Communists' children. Groups of Pioneers are generally present at the demonstrations of welcome to workman delegations from other countries.

The Pioneers are the active element of the children of the Soviet Union. The greater activity also among children, and particularly among the peasant children, which has come during the years of war and revolution is bringing what Russia lacked and needed. But several negative features in this activity have been noted by the Communists themselves. As in the case of the youth, a heavy load of civic activity is placed on the child. The number of formal committees and the fixed and always purposeful character of the tasks make the hours spent in the brigade a drain on the child's mind and body. The children come to the brigade for fixed hours and as a matter of duty and, when they are there, must conform to a rather conventional and serious program. It has been suggested that the formal meetings be reduced in number and that the members come when and as they wish. The participation of the children in revolutionary celebrations and processions has been limited. In general, the emphasis on political questions has been reduced, as there was evidence that the children were becoming bored by these discussions. One instance of failure of their training methods was mentioned by an active worker in the movement. A young Pioneer of twelve years of age, selected to appear at a meeting of workmen, made a fiery speech, the substance of which was, "We workmen are tired of being exploited."

The Young Communists responsible for the brigades have not always shown themselves equal to the tasks assigned them. They have developed habits of "commanding" and have exercised a harmful kind

of tutelage with respect to the children. The tendency of the Pioneers themselves to show arrogance in their relation to other children whom they are expected to "lead" has been noted. Objective conditions have increased the problems of the leaders. The rapid growth of the movement has made it difficult to meet the demands for quarters, equipment, and particularly for leaders. With the wide range of age, from ten to sixteen years, activities could not be properly differentiated and organized. The rate of growth of membership has been somewhat slower since 1926, and the membership has become more fluid, many children dropping out. All suggestions that admission to the movement be limited, at least temporarily, have been defeated, as the Pioneers must be a "mass" organization. Also the growth of the movement is important, for it is interpreted as the growth of the authority of the party and the Komsomol among the workmen and peasants, who are willing to entrust the civic training of their children to Communists.

CHAPTER V

THE SOVIET PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

The periodical press of pre-revolutionary Russia was largely an official press on the one hand and a party press on the other. Several newspapers or periodicals were published by governmental departments, and others were always spoken of as the "unofficial" organs of a particular ministry. The more important political parties had their organs, generally frankly designated as such. The largest newspaper published in Moscow was the one outstanding exception; it had no definite political affiliations and gave its space mainly to news items as opposed to editorial or political discussion. Because of its character, as well as its larger size and circulation as compared with other newspapers of the country, this Moscow sheet came to be spoken of as the "American newspaper" of Russia. All the more important newspaper and journals were published in the two capitals of Petersburg and Moscow, and were largely confined to the city readers, to the intelligentsia, and to the official classes. Newspaper and journals of the co-operative movement were beginning to reach out to workmen and even penetrate into the peasant villages, but the circulation of all newspapers did not total more than three million for a population of over 170,000,000. The provincial newspapers, with the exception of those in such large cities as Kiev, Warsaw, or Odessa, were on the whole very small and colorless publications.

All publications were subject to varying degrees of censorship before the Revolution. After the 1905 revolution conditions for publication, particularly of periodicals, had become somewhat freer under a system of punitive censorship. The preliminary preventive censorship was still applied only indirectly, and mainly to books. At the outbreak of the World War in 1914 censorship regulations became again rigorous, especially with the growth of the opposition movement that started during the first year of the war. The newspapers and periodicals that reached workmen and peasants were watched with particular care, and many of these were suppressed by fines or preventive censorship measures. Under the cover of military censorship a more rigid general censorship was enforced. However, the press of this pre-revolutionary period was able to express a critical attitude

toward the policy of the government. Also it could discuss with remarkable frankness the many outstanding weaknesses of the economic and social order. A tribune for the free expression of opinion was furnished by the national assembly, the Duma, and the press found here protection from censorship. Only rarely did the censorship authorities refuse to allow the publication in the newspapers of the speeches and debates of the national assembly, in which all political tendencies including the Bolshevik faction of the Social Democrats had a spokesman.

With the revolution of February, 1917, came absolute and unqualified freedom of press. Even military censorship ceased to function during the first months in the general confusion after the overthrow of the old régime. The former official and semi-official newspapers and journals disappeared with the fall of the régime that supported them, so that there were practically no organs in opposition to the new régime. The new institutions that emerged and assumed the leadership of the masses in the Revolution, the Soviets, often took over the plants of the former official and semi-official publications, and also the plants of the newspapers of conservative parties or tendencies, and used them for publishing their organs. The first such Soviet organ was the *Izvestia*, of the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies. The socialist parties also got control of large printing establishments, sometimes by the simple process of seizure by the typesetters and machinists, so that they were able to take practical advantage of the complete freedom of the press. The party character of each particular newspaper became even more marked with the development of the struggle between socialists and non-socialists and between the various groups of socialists.

By the middle of the summer of 1917 the conflict of parties within the revolutionary movement led to attempts on the part of the provisional government to impose some restraint on the press. The Kerensky government, representing moderate socialist and non-socialist parties, closed down several of the newspapers of the Bolshevik party organization for opposing a continuation of the war, and for advocating the overthrow of the provisional government. These newspapers reappeared within a few days, however, and were able to continue publication because of the weakness of the provisional government and the methods of direct action adopted by the workmen under Bolshevik leadership. So in fact complete freedom of press prevailed throughout the period of the first revolution of 1917. Moreover, the socialist parties acting in the name of the masses through the Soviets had been able

to get possession of some of the largest printing establishments of the country, and this made it possible for them to utilize practically the new freedom.

The October revolution of 1917 brought almost immediately new conditions for the press. Among the first decrees of the new Soviet government were press regulations which amounted practically to the re-establishment of a formal censorship. The expropriation policy of the new régime was directed against the press; the workmen and peasants were to get possession of these most important "means of production" in order to protect their seizure of political power. A state control of the business of all advertising was instituted as one of the steps toward the nationalization of the press and of all publishing enterprises. Non-socialist and non-Bolshevik socialist newspapers openly opposing the new régime were able to continue publication during the first months by resorting to frequent change of name and editor and through special financial support from party committees or individuals. But by the summer of 1918 the publication activities of all these opposition parties, and even of strictly commercial enterprises, had been suppressed within the area under the political control of the Soviets. Non-socialist and opposition socialist parties had been formally outlawed as "enemies of the people." The Communist party had established by this date its monopoly of legality in the field of political organization, and this monopoly extended to the press. At the same time the nationalization program of the Soviet government was being rapidly extended and had reached practically complete realization with respect to publication and even distribution of printed matter of all kinds. In the violent conflicts of this period of the Revolution the Communists had considered the control of the printed word one of the most important objectives of the struggle, and here their victory had been complete. The net result was the establishment of state or Communist monopoly of the political press, the institution of a state publishing department with practical monopoly of the general field of publication, and the introduction of a censorship authority. Certain changes in the organization of the press came with the adoption of the New Economic Policy in 1921, but the principles introduced as part of the revolutionary struggle of the first years remained in force as "principles of the Revolution."

The press of a revolution requires particular emphasis on propaganda. This was especially true during the first period of active struggle. The Revolution is still in progress in the conception of its leaders, and the propaganda function of the printed word is frankly

stressed by the Communists. The newspapers therefore are still largely devoted to editorial and doctrinal discussion, although purely informational items are being given more space. Methods of distribution have received special attention as part of the revolutionary process. The press has been used not only to promote revolutionary enthusiasm and consciousness but also as a medium through which political activeness may express itself in concrete and practical ways. The press has a distinct rôle assigned to it in the general plans and programs for the civic training of the Soviet citizen. Here several novel features have been developed to meet the conditions of the moment, and also as part of the revolutionary movement. The interesting institutions of "living newspapers," "wall newspapers," and "correspondents" of workmen, peasants, and even Red army soldiers, are distinctive of the Soviet press, and of the Soviet system in general. These special types of newspapers, and the systematic organization of regular correspondence from readers will be described in detail, for they represent a conscious and direct utilization of the press for purposes of civic training. Pamphlets and posters have come to be used extensively to supplement the periodical press. The development of these last forms of publication were suggested by conditions such as widespread illiteracy and inadequate means of communication, as well as by their applicability to propaganda purposes.

The newspapers of the Soviet Union fall into very definite categories, which may be specifically defined. There are, first of all, the official Soviet publications, daily and general, like the *Izvestia*, meaning "News," or weekly or monthly, like the more technical publications of various governmental departments. Some commissariats also publish dailies or weeklies in the form of newspapers, which are the official organs of these governmental departments. The most important newspaper of this type is the *Izvestia* of the Central Executive Committee. The local executive committee of a province may also have its *Izvestia*. The other most important type of newspaper is the *Pravda* published by the Central Committee of the Communist party. A provincial committee of the party may have its local sheet, which will also be called the *Pravda*. The Communist party adopted this name for its official organ when it was still only a group within a larger party organization, and has retained the name as a kind of trade-mark (the Russian word means the "Truth"). Often the provincial town will have only one newspaper, the combined organ of both the Soviet and the party. The relationship between the government official organ and the party official organ is technically very close, and

the party organ is in any case that of the ruling party in the government. In addition to the *Pravda* of the party there is the *Pravda* of the Komsomol, published by the Central Committee of the latter. Finally, the third Communist organization, the Pioneer movement among children, also has its *Pravda*, which is, however, a weekly although it has the form and makeup of a newspaper.

These official organs of the Soviets and the party are defined as the "directing" newspapers of the Soviet system. It is through these newspapers that the "Communist line" is fixed for all newspapers of Soviet or party. With one exception, which will be noted presently, these newspapers have the largest circulations. The *Pravda* of the party claims a circulation of over 600,000, larger than that of the leading Soviet organ, the *Izvestia* published at Moscow. In view of the position of the party in the Soviets, this official organ of the Central Committee of the party is in fact the most important political publication of the Soviet Union.

The next general category is that of "mass" newspapers, and it falls into two divisions, corresponding to the two classes of workmen and peasants. These newspapers are at the same time party publications. They are designated not as "organs" of the party but as "newspapers" of the Central Committee, or a local committee, of the Communist party. In the case of some of the newspapers of this type, the subtitle will read "Published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party." The names of these newspapers generally indicate the class for which the particular publication is intended. Thus the two most important examples of this type of newspaper are the *Workman Newspaper*, and the *Peasant Newspaper*.

The *Workman Newspaper* of Moscow is smaller in size and more popular in style than the directing organ of the party. It gives less space to articles on the theory and principles of the Revolution, and more to news items. It is in such a newspaper that communications from workmen-correspondents are published or summarized. The large directing newspapers have readers among the workmen generally only through institutions like clubs and committees or among workmen who are members of the party. The more popular sheets aim to reach the masses of the workmen through individual subscriptions. The *Peasant Newspaper* of Moscow is called a "newspaper" but appears only weekly. It has the largest circulation of any single periodical and has developed the institution of correspondents the most successfully. Its organization will be described in detail in the discussion of the "*rabkor*" and "*selkor*," as the workman-correspondent and the peas-

ant-correspondent are called in abbreviation. The newspaper *Poorest Peasantry*, published by the *Pravda* of Moscow, is a kind of local provincial peasant sheet for this section of the peasantry on which the Communists particularly rely. At the more important provincial centers, local sheets for workmen and peasants compete with or supplement the centrally published organs. The relation between the central Moscow press and the provincial press will be discussed presently.

Newspapers published by the trade-unions would seem to fall within the categories both of directing newspapers and of mass newspapers. One author classifies them as "professional," and they do in fact emphasize the professional interests of their respective groups of readers. *Our Newspaper* published by the All-Union Central Soviet of Trade-Unions at Moscow, is the organ of the latter, and is the most important example of this type of newspaper. The *Teacher's Newspaper* is another professional sheet published by the central authorities of the Trade-Union of Workers in Education. Both of these newspapers have wide circulation and cover all general political questions, so that they furnish certain groups with their general information.

"Co-operative" newspapers published by the central or local bodies of the co-operative movement form a category by themselves. Newspapers for the Red army soldiers are edited and published by a special department of the Commissariat of War. The Moscow *Red Star* is the largest and most important of these army sheets and, like the workmen's and peasants' newspapers, gives particular attention to the promotion and use of the soldier-correspondent.

Only a few periodicals cannot be brought within any of these categories. The general newspaper is noticeably absent. The *Evening Moscow* is more of the type of newspaper that one finds in western countries. It is Moscow's only evening newspaper and is a small sheet as compared with the morning papers. The Communists refer contemptuously to this "boulevard sheet," and it has little importance either politically or as a channel of news. There are also journals of a lighter character, the humoristic weeklies or monthlies. These deal frankly with political questions and are given over largely to illustrations. Finally, the so-called "godless" movement has its publications, the most important of which is an illustrated weekly of caricatures and posters, with very little text matter. Publications for the youth and children are "mass" publications and, like the newspapers and weeklies for workmen and peasants, are published by committees of the party.

The use of pamphlets, single or in series, on technical and political

subjects, has been developed on a large scale to reach the peasants especially. Published by Soviet commissariats, party or Komsomol committees, Pioneer cabinets, trade-unions, or co-operatives, these pamphlets fall into the general categories indicated for the newspapers. Pamphlets are more easily distributed in a population where newspapers and books are just beginning to penetrate. Current political questions are presented and discussed in pamphlet form. Some of these pamphlet series therefore are periodicals of a kind, for broad mass consumption.

The predominance of the newspapers published at Moscow has already been noted. Formerly the press of Leningrad carried almost equal authority with that of Moscow, but the centralization of authority at Moscow and repressive measures against an opposition movement within the party in the Leningrad organization have resulted in the gradual decline in importance of the Leningrad Soviet and party organs. The press of the seat of government of an independent unit of the Soviet Union, such as the Ukraine, is given a special importance in order to emphasize the federative character of the Soviet Union. Under the general policy to promote the use of the languages of the national minorities, a so-called "national press" has been developed. Many local newspapers are published in the language of the dominant nationality of the given locality. At the end of 1925, of the 597 newspapers of the Soviet Union 170 appeared in languages other than Russian. The national press has its own directing newspapers, although the Moscow newspapers, and particularly the *Pravda*, as All-Union organs of Soviet, party, trade-unions, or co-operatives, have the greater authority.

The local or provincial press is, on the whole, weak and frequently colorless, although to a less degree than was the case before the Revolution. Efforts to improve the quality of local newspapers are illustrated, for example, by the broadcasting of news from Moscow through the official government telegraph agency, the Tass. The Tass service of some two thousand words daily, sent out by wireless, in the main summarizes the contents of the Moscow newspapers of the day. Because of its monopoly, the Tass is able to use the radio for sending out its service. A mail service to provincial newspapers on foreign news is also organized by the Tass. For internal news service each independent republic of the Union has its own agency which supplies local news to the central, directing organs. But the poor technical equipment at the disposal of local newspapers makes it impossible for them to compete with the Moscow newspapers. It would seem that the

central Moscow organs, of all categories, are gaining in the competition with local newspapers, largely because of their greater authority, better makeup, and more efficient handling of the problem of prompt distribution. Political considerations also lead to the deliberate promotion of the Moscow newspapers at the expense of local publications. Some Communists have advocated an even more positive policy of centralization for the press in order more clearly to enforce the "Communist line." The more important weeklies and monthlies, technical as well as political, are edited and published at either Moscow or Leningrad.

All publications, of all kinds, are subject to censorship. In the case of books, there is a preliminary censorship, and the publication must indicate on the inside of its cover the number of the permit under which it is printed and marketed. There is also the indication of the number of copies published under the authorization of the censorship. The continued exercise of the censorship is justified on the ground that the revolutionary struggle is still in progress, within the Soviet Union as well as with respect to other countries, and that the internal censorship is directed against the "enemy" classes, to whom it would be inexpedient to give the powerful weapon of the printed word. By the New Economic Policy concessions were made to these hostile forces, but the concessions were economic and were not accompanied by corresponding political concessions. For periodical publications, censorship is exercised by the methods of selection and control of the editors and other members of the staff. No unregistered publishing establishment is supposed to exist, and the output of all printing offices is carefully and minutely checked. Within the Communist party, censorship is exercised by the editorial boards of party organs or publications, these boards being selected and controlled by the highest party authorities. The leaders of the opposition movement within the party of the last two years organized a small secret printing plant when the party censorship refused them the use of the columns of party organs. This violation of party discipline was one of the main grounds for the severe penalties imposed on such prominent leaders as Trotsky and Zinoviev.

The editors of the directing organs of the press are all Communists and are appointed by the Soviet or party authorities. For newspapers and weeklies published by the Central Committee of the party, the editorial board is selected by the party. The party control of the Soviet executive committees guarantees the appointment of Communists as editors of the official governmental organs. The editorial

boards of local party organs are selected by the party committee of the locality, always subject to the confirmation of the Central Committee however. For mass newspapers and technical publications, some of the responsible editors may be drawn from outside the party membership because of their technical qualifications. Here, as in other fields, it has been necessary to use the specialist trained under the old order until new experts have been produced. There are often, in addition, Communists on the board of editors, so that these publications also are under Communist direction and control.

In such newspapers as the *Izvestia* and *Pravda* articles by non-Communists rarely appear. It is explained by a former editor of the *Izvestia* that it would be impossible to maintain the proper tone of these leading official organs if such a practice were adopted. In periodicals of a scientific or technical character, contributions from non-Communists are accepted, and sometimes represent the larger bulk of the contents of the periodical. Non-Communist economists or pedagogues, for example, cannot present views directly opposed to the principles underlying the economic or educational policies of the Soviet authority as directed by the Communist party. Criticism of the actual working of these policies must be limited to the discussion of "defects of mechanism." Thus, in the non-political organs of the press, including technical and scientific periodicals, the Communists also exercise a directing influence. The provision by which Communists may receive and retain remuneration in excess of a fixed maximum for writing is dictated in part by the desire to secure and strengthen the Communist influence over the press.

This monopoly of the political press by the one party is recognized by many Communists as having certain negative features. The useful stimulus of an opposition is precluded, for example. In discussing this point it has been argued that the press of the outside, "capitalist" world supplies this opposition. The Communist editors of the newspapers of the Soviet Union evidently receive and read with care the newspapers of the Russian political refugees. All the political parties of the pre-revolutionary Russia have organized central committees, or foreign delegations, in the capitals of Western Europe and publish official daily or weekly organs. The Soviet newspapers frequently take up and answer articles or statements which appear in the press of the *Emigration.*

It is claimed that the official character of the Soviet newspapers and periodicals gives them real influence and powers of control. Specific legislation defines how this control may be exercised. A Soviet

institution, either administrative or economic, must take notice of a statement concerning it which appears in a newspaper, even if the statement is merely a communication from a correspondent. A criticism contained in such a statement must be answered through the columns of the same newspaper. Recently the Supreme Soviet of National Economy instructed all state trusts to note and react to criticisms appearing in the press as expressions of Soviet public opinion, without waiting for further instructions from the central authorities, communicating the answer and explanation direct to the newspaper in question. It has been impossible to study and analyze the actual carrying out of this practice for which formal provision is made. Almost daily the Moscow *Pravda* runs a column under the headline "The *Pravda* Helped." Here report is made of the correction or complete abandonment of a policy or practice against which protest had been voiced in its columns. On some days the headline of this column has been changed to "The *Pravda* Has Not Helped," and the column will be used to state again the complaint against a particular abuse.

The official character of the Soviet press means that it is not a strictly commercial enterprise. But the technical problems of editorship lead to the development of the professional journalist, and the method of selection of editors and the provisions for control over them make them officials of a kind, of a Soviet institution or of the party. To combat bureaucratic tendencies in this group of official journalists, as well as to use the press as one of the means of civic training, "correspondents" from workmen and peasants are secured and organized. At the same time the "wall newspaper" is being actively encouraged, to supplement and in a way check the formal, printed newspaper, and also to offer an opportunity for any individual easily to give expression to civic interest. Participation in the editing and development of the wall newspaper of the institution with which the individual is associated is considered a first evidence of civic activity.

The wall newspaper and the correspondent are closely allied in their aims and also in the matter of organization. Association with a wall newspaper often suggests, and trains for, activity as a correspondent. At an All-Union Conference of the *Rabselkor* (Workman-Peasant-Correspondent) held in May, 1926, it was reported that the number of regularly issued wall newspapers had grown to 40,000 for the whole Union, of which about one-half were in peasant villages. The total number of correspondents was 250,000, of whom approximately 150,000 were peasants, 60,000 workmen, and 40,000 Red army soldiers. By 1928 the number of these correspondents had increased

to over 300,000. The Komsomol and Pioneer newspapers and journals also have started in to organize correspondents from their readers. These figures show a broad reach of these two forms of mass participation in the field of journalism, and the *Rabselkor* movement is spoken of as one of the expressions of the "toilers' democracy" being developed under the Soviets.

The wall newspaper has become itself an institution of practically all Soviet institutions, at least in the more politically active urban centers. On entering a bank, commissariat, factory, or club, for example, one finds in the corridor or some similarly prominent place the wall newspaper of the "collective" of the institution. In the villages, where the wall newspaper has also penetrated, it will be found in the Cantonal Soviet headquarters, or in the village reading-room, and perhaps even in the village school. Some of these wall newspapers are quite elaborate in their makeup; even the most modest are neat and attractive in appearance. Some are written by hand in printed characters, but the majority are typewritten; none are printed by press. Titles and framework often are done in colors; and illustrations, of clippings or original drawings, are frequently in colors. The *Peasant Newspaper* of Moscow sends out large sheets with decorated margins to be used for making up the wall newspaper. For the most part the large sheet is prepared by the editorial board by the simple process of pasting. Large wall newspapers are five or more feet in width and three or four feet in length. A larger size would make hanging and especially reading awkward and difficult. Sometimes the wall newspaper is designated as the organ of the Communist or Komsomol cell of the particular institution, or of the Pioneer Forepost of a school. These three grades of "activists" are expected to initiate and take a leading part in the wall newspaper, always being represented as a matter of course on the editorial board. However, the wall newspaper is supposed to be the organ of the whole group and not of the Communist, Komsomol, or Pioneer element in the group. The problem of exercising the leadership expected of the Communist element, while at the same time avoiding the exercise of a kind of tutelage with respect to the mass, is present even in this primary form of Soviet civic activity.

The wall newspaper is not brought under formal censorship, but instances where local Communist or Soviet authorities have exercised censorship over the wall newspaper have been frequent. These practices are forbidden, and presumably are gradually being eliminated, although an instance was recently reported of the wall newspaper

carrying the caption "Passed by the Censor." Contributors to the columns of the wall newspaper are supposed to enjoy full freedom and complete protection, but again the newspapers report instances where the identity of the contributor has been disclosed or at least surmised, and dismissal from employment has followed. These instances have been given publicity as part of the effort to prevent the spread of such practices, which would reduce the effectiveness of the wall newspapers. For it is in these modest sheets that one finds the details on the actual working of the various institutions of the Soviet experiment. From these comments the responsible leaders can draw for their plans of "rationalizing the Soviet apparatus."

The wall newspapers are unusually frank in their criticism. Sometimes it is the general spirit of the given institution that is criticized. Individuals will be named and their attitude or conduct discussed; the clerk will be charged with malingering, or the director or responsible department head with bullying or blundering. So the freedom of self-criticism, which the Communists insist is not only permitted but encouraged, is most fully realized in these uncensored and unsigned comments on the everyday functioning of an institution by those employed and working in it. It is the duty of the editorial board to see that the wall newspapers do not become the medium for airing individual grievances or venting personal spites. The editorial board also is advised not to try to replace the printed newspaper by giving space to general political discussion. The field of the wall newspaper is the life and work of the institutions or community it represents. The participation of the particular group in general activities such as the patronage movement or political celebrations is discussed and in part directed through the wall newspaper. The political rôle of this institution of the wall newspaper is therefore considerable. The Communist or Komsomol participation determines the political line to be followed. This fact is a limitation on the freedom of criticism which must be noted.

Files of wall newspapers are generally kept, despite the difficulty of handling the large, cumbersome sheets. An exhibition of wall newspapers recently organized by one of the newspapers is being used as a basis for a detailed analysis of this interesting type of press. Short manuals are published giving practical suggestions on the mechanical problems of editing and makeup. The Communists and Young Communists, and even the Pioneers, have among their listed responsibilities that of supporting and furthering the wall newspaper. School teachers, in the villages especially, are instructed to assist the local

editorial board in its work. The local agricultural expert, representing the Commissariat of Agriculture is similarly instructed to co-operate with this important medium of contact and propaganda, and to use it in his work. The wall newspaper is, in fact, of particular importance as a medium of information in a country where the reading of newspapers by the broader masses is just beginning to develop. But it is more than a substitute for the usual printed sheet; it promotes and gives expression to civic activity. Interest and pride in the wall newspaper is evident to the outside visitor, whose attention is always called to this activity of the institution. The wall newspaper has a more general usefulness in that it encourages and trains to write. Students of literature are turning their attention to this source, and report that the wall newspapers are bringing out a very considerable number of individuals showing real literary ability. The average number of the permanent staff of the wall newspaper is from five to ten. The estimated 40,000 wall newspapers, generally appearing every two weeks, represent a simple form of civic activity for a very considerable army of writers.

Mimeographed newspapers for distribution within a small group are issued, but the number of these is small. Where such an enterprise has been started, the group elects a board of editors, but the Communist cell appoints the responsible editor. Thus a degree of censorship is established; for these mimeographed newspapers resemble the regular printed newspapers more than they do the wall newspapers, and it was considered expedient to provide for a measure of control with respect to them.

The institution of the workman-correspondent and peasant-correspondent was defined by Zinoviev at one of the conferences of the movement as "practical Leninism." It is in fact a product of the Revolution and was in the main spontaneous in origin, although as early as 1904, when the Bolshevik faction was developing its own press, Lenin urged that effort be made to secure the actual participation of workmen in the newspaper of the party. In describing the attainment of the leading peasant newspaper, which gives particular attention to the promotion and use of its village correspondents, another leader referred to the readers of the paper as "the toilers who with their own hands for the first time in the history of mankind are building up their own newspaper." The initiative in the promotion and organization of the institution of correspondents came from the editorial office of the central party organ, the *Pravda.* Only in 1923 did the movement begin to take on a really active and organized char-

acter. By 1925 there had been formed over a thousand circles of these correspondents, for the purpose of co-operation and self-training.

The organization of the correspondents is around and by editorial staffs, particularly of the mass newspapers. In rural districts, school teachers or doctors may become correspondents, but the majority are workmen and peasants. The class principle is enforced; rich peasants are not accepted, and special effort is made to encourage the poor peasant to become a correspondent. The correspondents do not receive from a given newspaper a formal appointment or even a card designating them as representing the newspaper. This point is emphasized so that the correspondents shall not become another "authority" in the community, but remain representatives of the community with respect to other institutions as well as the newspaper. The correspondents are to be the "pulse-feelers" for the Soviet authority and the party, as well as for the newspaper.

About one-half of the correspondents are members of the party or of the Komsomol. Although the members of the party and the Komsomol are instructed to assist and further the movement, they are at the same time instructed not to attach the correspondents to their local organization. The center of activity of a local group of correspondents may be the local wall newspaper, but it is insisted that the movement shall assume an organized character only around the editorial office of a newspaper as the center. Party influence must be exercised by flexible methods, without any administrative pressure, and these correspondents supply another set of contacts between party members and the non-party masses, to be used by the Communists to influence and lead the active element of the non-party mass.

The *Rabselkor* movement has developed in an atmosphere of struggle which has emphasized for the individual the responsibility of his work. Many of the peasant-correspondents have found that their activity has entailed personal danger. In the 1926 exhibition of the Association of Artists of the Revolution a picture entitled *The New Front* attracted particular attention. It showed the interior of a peasant home, its owner dead on the floor, and his writing material scattered. The peasant-correspondent was preparing his report when the shot came through the window. During 1925 there had been twenty-four murders of peasant-correspondents and ten unsuccessful attacks on them. The press gave much attention to these cases, and one of the featured trials of the year was that of the murderers of a peasant-correspondent. When the attacks on correspondents became almost epidemic in several localities, the Commissariat of Justice issued

instructions to its prosecuting authorities that all such attacks were to be classed as counter-revolutionary acts and brought under the article of the criminal code which provides for the death penalty. The correspondents incur the hostility of two groups. By exposing the corrupt and arbitrary practices of local Soviet authorities and party workers, they become the object of attack of these elements of which the party has not been able yet to rid itself. The correspondents also report on the "hostile" rich-peasant elements, particularly where such have been able to gain a foothold in the co-operatives or even in the local Soviets, and then there is retaliation.

Opponents of the Communists interpreted these attacks on the village correspondents as protests from the peasants as a whole, who considered the correspondent a new and particularly insidious representative of authority, playing the rôle of a spy. The characterization of the correspondents as the "eye" of the Soviet authority by the Communists themselves gave a basis for the interpretation that the function of the correspondent was mainly that of espionage and reporting. The control committees of the party and the Workman-Peasant Inspection make extensive use of the local correspondents for information on local conditions, and this practice tends to give color to the view that the correspondents are spies. The position of the correspondent has become less hazardous since 1925, but even today in many localities the local correspondent finds it inexpedient to work openly and conceals carefully the fact of his activity. His communications are not signed, and the newspaper communicates with him through its columns by using a code number. But the peasant-correspondents more and more are acknowledging their connections with a newspaper; their directing editors urge that they work openly where it is possible to do so. In the one rural community which the writer was able to study in detail in the autumn of 1926 the village correspondents were still working "under cover." It was therefore impossible to talk with actual representatives of this movement; also, it seemed inexpedient to try to determine just what elements of the community made it necessary for the correspondents to conceal their identity. The correspondents are advised by the editors of the papers to which they write to give less emphasis in their work to exposing individual abuses, and to make constructive suggestions on the general functioning of institutions. This advice probably is dictated by the desire to lessen the hazards which the correspondent must face.

The practice of frequent conferences of correspondents is being systematized. In Moscow the workmen-correspondents are brought

together regularly for evenings of discussion. In May, 1926, a third All-Union conference of the movement was held, under the auspices of the Moscow *Pravda* and its special journal *The Workman-Correspondent*. These gatherings are called "conferences" and not "congresses," for they do not have authority with powers of compulsion but are only for consultation and information. And also, members of the party do not have rights superior to those of non-party participants in such conferences. The carefully limited character of these conferences is in line with the policy already indicated, of keeping the correspondents' movement from becoming too institutionalized or too subservient to the party.

Special journals for these staffs of correspondents are published by the newspapers which have been most active in the promotion of the movement. There are about twenty such periodicals of which the more important are the *Workman-Correspondent* of the Moscow *Pravda* and the *Village Correspondent* published by the editorial office of the Moscow *Peasant Newspaper*. These journals give articles on general political subjects for the guidance of the correspondents but emphasize particularly the ideas and principles of the movement and give practical suggestions on methods of work. Also, special guides of general information are published for the use of the correspondents. These journals and guides, like the conferences, aim to give a special training to the correspondents, as a group of citizens who have shown concretely political consciousness. Circles of correspondents are formed around the wall newspaper in the Factory Committee or the Workmen's Club, to mention the more important centers only, and have as their main object the training of their members as citizen-correspondents. Special textbooks on the history and organization of the press have been prepared for the use of these circles. More specific Communist training is secured by attendance at a school of "political grammar" or by membership in Marx-Lenin circles. In these schools the correspondents are not divided off into a special, privileged group. It is expected that the movement will contribute to the staff of professional journalists of the Soviet press. Admission to the highest Communist educational institutions for the training of party workers in the field of journalism is made easier for the workman or peasant who has a record as an active correspondent.

The large *Peasant Newspaper* published by the party at Moscow has been particularly successful in handling a large corps of local correspondents. Claiming a circulation of over a million, this weekly with the makeup of a newspaper, reaches out over the whole Soviet

Union. In a rural district visited and studied, this Moscow organ was found to be more popular than the local newspaper published for peasants. The editors report that some 50,000 letters are received monthly from their peasant-correspondents. The handling of this vast volume of material is turned over to ten editors, who have no other responsibility than that of reading and disposing of these letters from peasants; former provincial editors have been selected for this work because of their knowledge of rural conditions. It is explained that every letter received is acknowledged. Many of the communications from peasants are individual complaints, and these are forwarded to the governmental department which has jurisdiction of the field in which the complaint falls. If the letter discusses general conditions and shows a conscious "social" attitude on the part of the writer, the writer of it receives a proposal to become a correspondent. Literature is sent to him explaining the work and functions of a correspondent. It is thus that the staff of regular correspondents has been built up; in 1926 over 5,000 peasants were sending in items at frequent intervals and were organized in local circles.

Particularly good letters, showing a high degree of civic consciousness and touching on a vital question of peasant life, are selected for publication in the newspaper. Where the material is thus used, the correspondent receives remuneration at a fixed space rate; the average payment is from three to five rubles, which represents a significant sum to a Russian peasant. Letters which are not found available for publication are used in the preparation of general articles, and the writers receive remuneration. In the process of reading, the letters are carefully sorted as to subject matter. Once a month a summary of peasant "opinion" is made from these letters and sent to governmental departments and party authorities. These monthly reports are not given out to the public; they are for administrative purposes only. The criticism has been made that this use of the correspondents makes the newspaper another governmental body instead of an organ of public opinion. After the letters have been utilized in these various ways, they are filed away, by subjects for the use of special studies or future research. It was a temptation to accept the offer of access to these files, which were said to contain at the time over a million and a half letters.

The living newspapers should be noted here although they come more properly under the subject of the cultural and political activities of workmen's clubs and the village reading-rooms. Led by an organization of professionals under the name of the Blue Blouses, local

groups in these institutions stage skits on current topics of the day, combining music, dancing, acting, and a kind of gymnastics in the technique of presentation. The professional element in the movement is being criticized for tending toward "bourgeois cabaret" methods, although simplicity of staging and costume is stressed in order to meet the stage facilities available. Although presumably subject to censorship, the little skits of the Blue Blouses are often very caustic in their portrayals of actual conditions and often mock at the fundamental principles of the Revolution. They have tended to make some of the earlier slogans of the Revolution mere bywords. The element of amusement which the living newspaper aims to include often carries over a surprisingly frank criticism of policy or practices. Amateur groups of young workmen, soldiers, and peasants locally stage "Evenings of the Living Newspaper," inspired and sometimes trained by the professional element in the movement. These amateur performers lack the pleasing grace and art which the Blue Blouses have attained; the crudeness of performance lessens the effectiveness and sometimes leads to impressions quite the opposite of those desired, to the point of arousing the Communist leaders to protest. But the living newspapers are most effective means of civic education, especially among the peasants, where reading is still limited, while the dramatic sense is strongly developed. There is a tendency for the performances to become stereotyped and, as one commentator expressed it, to become journals rather than newspapers. The themes become general instead of the immediate issues of the day. The ideal is for a local amateur group to give two to three different performances a week, so that the living newspaper will in fact become a powerful weapon of agitation and propaganda. The special political education which the participants acquire in the preparation of their performances is considered an important aspect of the institution. Also through the living newspapers a sense of humor which was noticeably absent in the first years of the Revolution is able to express itself.

Methods of distribution of newspapers have been given particular attention, and there has been interesting experimenting with the problem of circulation. During the first years of the Revolution, when the widest propaganda of the new ideas was necessary and Communist principles were being applied more extensively, the distribution of printed matter became one of the state services. At that time all publication was by state or party authorities and the commercial element was completely absent. The new institutions and organizations which were being built up were supposed to receive newspapers

and other printed material as a matter of routine. Costs were to be simply credited and debited between institutions. The shortage of paper and the exhaustion of printing equipment reduced the output to such a point that the wide distribution which these methods were expected to secure was not attained. Another reason for the failure of this first experiment in distribution was that the governmental institutions proved to be poor distributors. The material accumulated at the higher levels of the pyramid structure of the Soviets or other bodies and did not reach the lower units, or, if it did, failed to proceed further to the masses.

With the introduction of the New Economic Policy, newspapers and publication activity in general were put on the commercial basis. This meant the re-establishment of the principle of paid subscription. At the present moment the large central newspapers are being run on a business basis, supported by subscriptions, although as Soviet or party organs they probably enjoy considerable special privileges. Many institutions must take them as a matter of course. Advertisements have been reintroduced, of state nationalized enterprises for the most part, which represent an important source of income for the official newspapers. The provincial press is less well situated financially, and the majority of the local newspapers have to be subsidized by the local Soviet or party authorities. Institutions, as opposed to individuals, represent a large percentage of the subscribers. Further, there is the system of so-called "collective subscription" by which a group subscribes, in some cases each member receiving his individual copy. There is undoubtedly an element of compulsion in these collective subscriptions; they are proposed and voted in open meetings. But individual subscription is now being favored; Soviet and party workers in the field of publication have come to the conclusion that individual subscription is after all the most effective means of distribution.

Since the adoption of the policy of individual subscription the circulation of newspapers has increased rapidly, and it has been possible to make corresponding reductions in the price of subscriptions. Soviet statistics give the number of newspapers published before the Revolution at around 800, with an aggregate circulation of about 3,000,000. On April 1, 1924, there were 517 newspapers, some of which were weekly publications, with a circulation of 3,769,170 copies. By August, 1925, the number of newspapers had increased to 595, and the circulation had almost doubled, reaching 7,284,249. The growth of the peasant, Communist Youth, and Red army newspapers

during this short period gave the largest contribution to the increase, although the circulation of the central directing organs also increased very considerably. At present the circulation of daily newspapers and of newspapers appearing at least once a week is estimated at over 8,000,000. Workmen's clubs, libraries, and reading-rooms in the towns, the village reading-rooms and Soviet and party institutions still are the centers of reading of newspapers and periodicals as well as of pamphlets and books for the majority of the workmen and peasants. But newspapers are beginning to find their way into the individual home. It is stated that over half of the workmen of Moscow are individual subscribers to a newspaper. A practice by which ten or more households take out a common subscription is still usual in peasant communities.

Among the circles of a workmen's club or village reading-room, the "Friends of the Newspaper" or the "Friends of the Library" are unofficial subscription-solicitors. As the activities of these circles are in the field of political education, the Communists and Komsomol members are expected to take the initiative and leadership. One of the civic obligations of the Pioneers is to promote the spread of the newspaper, in their own homes, among workmen in general, and particularly in the villages. The voluntary civic organizations, such as "Down with Illiteracy" or even the "International Society to Assist Revolutionaries," are indirectly propagandists of the printed word, having publications and literature of their own. Official Soviet and party bodies provide convenient facilities for sending in subscriptions. The soliciting of subscriptions by individuals on a commission basis is also used. In the large cities newsboys and news stands retail the leading newspapers and also a large number of the weeklies and monthlies, and a considerable percentage of the city readers purchase their newspapers from day to day and thus make a slight saving over the subscription delivery rates.

As newspapers and periodicals with few exceptions are published by the Soviet or party authority, or under their direction, there is little competition between them. Each publication presumably has in mind a particular group of readers or a particular region. The same political line is obligatory on all under the Communist control and leadership and the Soviet censorship. The leading position secured to the state publishing department in the general field of publication, including also the publication of periodicals, is another feature of the Soviet system. This co-ordination simplifies the problem of circulation. Bulletins containing titles and descriptions of all periodicals are

issued by the state publishing department. Advertisements of publications in newspapers and journals also help the reader to select the newspaper or magazine which touches most closely his particular field of interest. The Communist party, through a special Press Section, recommends to each class of readers particular publications. For members these recommendations would seem to be tantamount to positive instructions; in theory, every party member and every member of the Komsomol is under obligations to read a newspaper. The Pioneers also are expected to be readers, and a special press for the children has been developed, as we saw. The three party groups must be the examples and leaders in their respective communities and "collectives," with respect to the non-party mass; and mass newspaper reading is undoubtedly making rapid progress. This progress is due in part to the particular methods of distribution which have been adopted.

Pamphlets and posters, which have been classed here with periodical publications rather than with books, are retailed through the news stands as well as through bookstores. A very large percentage of the edition of a given pamphlet is distributed on the tables of literature in clubs and reading-rooms. The lobby of a motion-picture theater, where the audience waits for the next performance, is often supplied with a reading-room. But it is on the display racks and counters of stands and of larger bookstores that the readers select their pamphlet literature. The news stands are to be found not only on street corners but in the corridors of all institutions, of commissariats, of people's courts, and of theater lobbies. Bookstores have been opened in all quarters of the large cities, in all provincial towns, and even in peasant villages. The news stand of the railway station of a small settlement is generally also the bookstore of the community.

These bookstores and news stands are for the most part official distributing agencies of a government department, of the party, or of other organizations such as trade-unions or co-operatives. Private book-selling establishments are the exception, if one excludes the book stalls which line the boulevards and squares of the capitals and larger cities; and they deal largely in books published before the Revolution. Unsold editions of Soviet publications are also peddled at these book marts. The bookstores of the state publishing department deserve special mention. Uniform in their signs and in the color scheme of the buildings, they are to be found all over Moscow and in other cities. They attract attention, and the internal arrangement of the counters encourages one to enter and browse around. New books and pamphlets are spread out flat on long counters so that they can be easily exam-

ined. The clerks do not importune one to buy, although this may be a negative feature characteristic of state management. The method of display of books and pamphlets is good advertising, and in these bookstores one always finds many people examining and even reading the new publications.

The Communists do not attempt to conceal their policy to make their press an instrument of propaganda and agitation. Pounding away, day after day, on matters of daily interest, the newspaper is considered more effective than book or pamphlet: the reader is less conscious of the deliberate effort to create a given "ideological" environment, which the Communists frankly set as their task. Controlled by a group with a clear-cut program, the newspaper can be used to get action by agitation, by hammering now on this, now on another question of mass interest. Thus by daily and insistent appeal, a particular form of activity can be promoted. Emphasis on a single point by practically the entire press, and all in a single interpretation, is possible through the Communist control. The directing official organs of the party give from day to day authoritative interpretations which amount to instructions to the party membership, supplementing and enforcing the decisions of party congresses or the formal periodic instructions sent out from the central authorities of the party. The masses are reached by the newspapers for peasants and workmen published by party committees.

Further, the newspaper in the period of active class struggle is considered primarily political in character; the Communists insist that a non-political organ of the press cannot exist. This does not mean that the newspaper cannot be also informational, according to the Communist conception of its character. Information, it is explained, is the basis of propaganda and agitation and of political action. By information the attention of the reader is secured. But all news in the Soviet newspapers must be made to "pass through a Communist prism." In a pamphlet on the rôle of the editor of a Soviet newspaper the author, at one time the responsible editor of the *Izvestia* of Moscow, states that the killing of a dog by a street car may be described either "monarchially" or proletarianly." Thus information or news, foreign as well as domestic, is not only selected but is also worked over to serve the aims of Communist propaganda and training. This is the meaning of the constant insistence that the "Communist line," the "principles of Leninism," or the "Marxian interpretation" underlie the editorial policy and also the news sections of all newspapers.

It is asserted, however, that the Communist control, the censor-

ship, and the extensive publication activities of official Soviet institutions guarantee to the workmen and peasants a press organized and used in their interests. Further, through their correspondents workmen and peasants are given the opportunity actually to participate in the printed organs of public opinion. This participation is made effective by special organizations of training, such as circles of correspondents and the wall newspapers. It is emphasized that the powers of influence secured to the press give a real meaning to this participation of the toiling masses. From the point of view of civic training the organization of correspondents, the wide use of the wall newspaper and the institution of the so-called "living newspaper," represent novel and interesting features, in part suggested by conditions peculiar to Russia and in part a product of the Revolution. The official character of practically all newspapers puts a special responsibility on the editors. It is believed that this responsibility promotes the frank self-criticism which is in fact characteristic of many of the discussions carried on in the press and is illustrated by the constant exposure of abuses and admission of failures. On the other hand, the official optimism that pervades the Soviet and party organs has suggested to many Communists a weakness of an official press.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOVIET TYPE OF STATE

A Soviet type of state with its Soviet form of government have been the most important institutional product of the Revolution. Through this Soviet political structure there is developing what is spoken of as "Soviet democracy." One of the outstanding merits of the Soviet form of government, according to its founders and supporters, is that it has reduced to the minimum the differentiation between rulers and ruled, and this despite the fact that at the same time it has given a very real and forceful governmental authority. On the other hand, the struggle against a bureaucratic spirit and bureaucratic methods under the Soviet system has been one of the issues in the Soviet Union for the last years and promises to remain a matter of concern and worry for some time to come. Lenin on one occasion set a generation as the term necessary for the elimination of what is termed "bureaucratism" in the Soviets.

The methods used to combat bureaucratism and strengthen Soviet democracy are based on a more conscious and active civic spirit, with means to make itself practically effective. The principle of election and the structure of the various legislative, executive, and judicial organs of the Soviet government also make for the development and assertion of active interest in them on the part of the citizenship, it is asserted. The party and the Komsomol have here a kind of leadership which is in many respects peculiar to the Soviet system. Somewhat novel institutions have been developed as part of the machinery of Soviet democracy.

All Soviet institutions are based on the class principle, for the Soviets originated as class institutions. The prototype of the Soviets was the Petersburg Soviet of Workmen's Deputies of the 1905 revolution in Russia. This first Soviet was a more or less representative gathering of the factory workmen of the capital organized during the course of the general strike of October, 1905. It assumed such wide powers as to suggest at the time an effort to establish the "dictatorship of the proletariat" of the Marxian program. Similar organizations were formed in other cities and industrial centers but did not attain the prominence or power of the Petersburg Soviet. Although the

word "Soviet" was current to designate all kinds of councils, from this time on it came to be used among Russian socialists to mean a revolutionary workmen's council. Accordingly, when in the February of 1917 a revolutionary situation again developed, the Soviet idea was immediately revived. In the conditions of this first revolution, of 1917, it was possible to organize the soldiers of the capital as well as the workmen. The Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies emerged as one of the directing forces of this first stage of the Revolution.

With the "deepening and broadening" of the revolutionary movement during the summer of 1917, these Soviets of workmen and soldiers spread to all the urban centers. Soviets were also organized in the army at the front. Committees and councils were formed in all institutions and for all sorts of purposes, but the use of the word "Soviet" came to be limited to these councils of workmen and soldiers. The organization of the peasants during these revolutionary months was less definite and uniform, but the strictly peasant congresses and committees of the period co-operated with the Soviets and were given representation on the Central Executive Committee of Soviets elected at the first all-Russian congress of Soviets, of May–June, 1917. The Soviets of this period between the February revolution and the Bolshevik revolution of October constituted themselves the "watch dog" with respect to the provisional government. They spoke and acted in the name of "revolutionary democracy," claiming to represent the workmen and peasants.

One may presume that the non-Bolshevik socialists, who were the majority leaders in the Soviets of this period, contemplated the withdrawal of this institution from political activity on the convening of the Constituent Assembly, elected on universal and equal suffrage. The Soviets of the summer of 1917 represented also the economic interests of workmen and to some extent of the peasants. Therefore the plan seemed to be that after the Constituent Assembly assumed all political authority, the Soviets were to be retained only as economic organizations, merged, or at least associated, with organizations of a trade-union character. During this same period the Bolshevik leaders, and Lenin particularly, did not at first believe in the possibility of using the Soviets as then organized for carrying out their tactics of proletarian dictatorship, although one of the slogans of the Bolsheviks was precisely "All Power to the Soviets." But at this time the Bolsheviks supported the principle of a constituent assembly, that is, of a non-class, national body; and they wished the Soviets to

assume full authority only until the Constituent Assembly could be elected and convened. Thus, when in October the seizure of power was effected on the initiative and under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, the government set up was only provisional, but it was the "Provisional Government of Workmen and Peasants."

When the Soviet form of government was adopted as the permanent authority, with the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly in January, 1918, Soviets had already been established practically throughout the whole country. The urban Soviets remained Soviets of workmen and soldiers; in the rural districts the Committees of the Poor Peasants became the Soviet authority, of village or canton, composed of the semiproletarian element in the peasantry, so that within the small rural community the class principle was applied. The higher co-ordinating units in the pyramid of Soviets became congresses of Soviets of Workmen's, Peasants', and Red Army Soldiers' Deputies. Later, with the acceptance of the new order by certain elements of the Cossacks, there were also deputies from this group of the peasantry in districts where the Cossack organizations existed. The enumeration of the class representatives gradually ceased to be given because of the cumbersomeness of the full title. Even in official and diplomatic documents the term "Soviet Government" was adopted, with a concurrent term, "Government of Workmen and Peasants." In the earliest period it was always the "poorest peasant" in all official uses, but the qualifying adjective was later dropped when it was determined to win over and bring into the Soviets the middle peasants as well as the poor peasants.

The relationship between the two terms "government of workmen and peasants" and the "dictatorship of the proletariat" has been the subject of discussion and dispute within Communist ranks, as well as between the Communists and their opponents among Russian socialists. The broader term was adopted as a matter of expediency largely for propaganda purposes. It is a truthful term in that the peasants as such are represented in all the Soviet institutions from the lowest units to the highest. But the peasants must accept the leadership of the workmen. The two classes are in alliance, but it is not an alliance of equals. The relationship is sometimes analyzed in the following way: The poor element of the peasant population engaged wholly or in part in agricultural production is the ally of the proletariat; the individual middle peasant who does not exploit the labor of another is of a friendly class without whose support the Soviet order cannot prevail. Thus the dictatorship of the proletariat is, in theory at least,

the basic principle. In the recent dispute within the Communist party, Trotsky insisted that the Soviet government was becoming a "far from proletarian government" because political rights were being extended too freely to the peasantry as a whole, and even to bourgeois elements in the peasantry.

The details of this controversy, and the merits of the charges and countercharges of the opposing groups of leaders, cannot be gone into here. The discussion, however, brought into sharp relief the essential features of the Soviet government. The workmen as a class are secured special representation and leadership. Within the peasantry there is further discrimination on the basis of economic differentiation. All bourgeois elements are passed over and excluded from the suffrage. Where a member of the intelligentsia or the office worker is doing socially useful work in the interests of the workmen and peasants, he is granted political rights. To prevent these elements from becoming in fact a ruling bureaucratic class, the Soviet system has developed interesting practices which will be discussed in the second part of this chapter; for the Soviet government is a "government of workmen and peasants," and workmen and also peasants must feel that it is in fact their own government.

Other institutions in addition to the elective Soviet assemblies also carry in their titles the class designation in order to appeal to the broader masses. The armed forces of the Soviet Union are organized in the "Workman-Peasant Red Army." Only workmen and peasants, as opposed to bourgeois or capitalistic elements, are allowed to carry arms, other classes being used in services which do not require training in the use of weapons. The ordinary police force is the "Workman-Peasant Militia," recruited from these two classes. An important department of government, exercising broad powers of supervision and control with respect to all institutions, is the "Workman-Peasant Inspection." This body with carefully selected personnel is one of the principal weapons in the struggle against incompetence and bureaucratic methods in governmental institutions. The word "people" has been used in Russian political life for over a generation to designate the peasants and workmen. It is in this special sense that the word is used in such titles as "people's commissary," "people's courts," or "people's judges."

The actual procedure of elections and the functioning of the Soviet institutions aim to make workmen and peasants actually feel that these are their institutions, run by them and working in their interests. It is beyond the scope of this study to determine to what extent this

aim has been achieved; the rôle of leadership assumed by the Communist party in the Soviets is a factor which has been presented and must be taken into account. But it may be safely asserted that an ever increasing number of workmen and peasants have been actively participating in the elections and actual work of the Soviet legislative and executive bodies. This unquestioned fact of increased political activity, especially in the peasantry which had always been a very passive and stolid element in Russian life, would seem to prove the effectiveness of the insistence on the class principle in the Soviet form of government.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the class principle was enforced in the institutions of pre-revolutionary Russia. The system of elections for local provincial and municipal councils was based on the division of the population into economic and social groups, and secured the predominance in these bodies of the landlord class in the country and of the owners of property, the "capitalist," in the cities. The Duma, the national elective assembly, was similarly elected by classes, with discrimination in favor of the propertied classes. Finally, the peasant village elective administration of the old régime was a one-class, peasant institution, which served further to fix the class divisions in the community. The class character of the institutions of the old régime was emphasized mainly to secure the political rights of the propertied classes against those of the workmen and peasants. Lenin said on one occasion: "The main, the fundamental thing, in Bolshevism and in the Russian October revolution is the bringing into politics precisely those who were the most oppressed under capitalism."

As Communists the Soviet leaders have insisted that nationalist sentiments are another of the heritages of the old régime which they will eventually liquidate. For the present, however, the factor of nationality is taken into account. The use of the local language is not only permitted but is made obligatory in all official institutions. For certain very backward racial groups in the southeastern and Asiatic districts of the Soviet Union, the local language is being given a written form for the first time. The study of the local region is emphasized particularly for the localities where the population is non-Russian. The Soviet Union is a "free union" of independent political units based on nationality; and the largest unit, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, is a federation in which there are some twenty-two autonomous national units. The independent national units have their own congresses of Soviets, the representatives of

which are sent to the All-Union congress; and in the election of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union seats are apportioned among the national groups on the basis of population. The highest Soviet authority of each independent or autonomous unit appoints five members to the Soviet of Nationalities, these appointments being ratified by the All-Union congress at the time of the election of the Central Executive Committee.

The element of nationality therefore is not only recognized but is stressed, although it is subordinated in the final analysis to the class principle. In the Ukraine the congress of Soviets is an All-Ukrainian congress, but of Ukrainian workmen and peasants; and similarly for the Tatar or the Kirghiz Soviet Republic. It is asserted that the Soviet system has found at last a solution for the problem of the national minority. In fact there would seem to be satisfaction of national sentiment, at least with respect to the use of the national language, the development of a national literature, and the stressing of national customs and culture. On the other hand, political unity and economic unity have been secured, so effectively in fact as to lead to the use of the term "soviet imperialism" by opponents of the Bolsheviks. Whatever will be the final result of the principles of autonomy and independence on the one hand and of federation on the other, as applied under the Soviets, the immediate result has been to develop civic interest and activity, even in some of the most backward of the smaller racial groups.

To make the Soviets effective instruments of government by the masses of the workmen and peasants is the aim of what is called "Soviet democracy" or "proletarian democracy." These two terms have become current only recently, and the use of them has not changed the earlier terminology with emphasis on the "dictatorship of the proletariat." The methods and institutions used to develop Soviet democracy with respect to the executive departments of government have in view primarily the combatting of bureaucratic spirit and arbitrary practices. The Soviet election system, the rôle of the Communist party in the Soviets, and such institutions as the Workman-Peasant Inspection, or the People's Prosecutors, for example, will be discussed primarily from the point of view of this constantly emphasized objective. During the last years there has been a systematic campaign to "enliven" the Soviets, as many of the results expected from the Soviet form of government were not materializing.

A discussion of the Soviet system of election is subject to severe limitations. Although the general principles of the system were set

forth in a detailed electoral law at the very beginning of the Revolution, reports on the first elections were so general in character as to exclude even the most superficial study. Then during the period of acute civil war the elections were practically suspended, except in the larger cities where the Soviet authority was strong and organized. The central Soviets came to be composed simply of delegates from the executive committees of the lower units, and the re-elections of the latter were postponed. After 1921, however, there were regular and complete re-elections of all Soviets, from the lowest units up. The practice that had developed during the previous years of designating from above the candidates to be sent up by the lower units continued. The principle of election in the rural districts particularly was practically nullified by this practice. The result was a very large percentage of absenteeism in the elections of the autumn of 1924; the attitude toward the elections had all the appearances of a deliberate boycott. The elections were quashed before they passed out of the first stage, and the campaign to "enliven the Soviets," noted above, was started.

For the next elections instructions were issued to the local Soviet authorities, and especially to the local party authorities, to abandon methods of pressure and compulsion, introduce real election campaigns, and observe strictly the principle of election. The elections of 1925–26 were therefore the first real general elections under the Soviet system (in the large cities of Moscow and Leningrad, the principle of elections had been more scrupulously observed, even in the years of internal and foreign wars). Also, by this date the electoral law had been made uniform for all the units of the Soviet Union. The returns were recorded and reported fully for the first time. The returns for the following elections of 1926–27 had not been fully analyzed at the moment of writing. Thus the data on which to discuss the application of the principles of the Soviet election system are still very meager.

A Communist study of the Soviet system of election states that it "guarantees the possibility of the constant active influence of organized groups of toilers on the deputies sent by them to the representative bodies." According to the same authority all the detailed provisions of the Soviet electoral law are dictated by a single principle, namely, that it should "contribute to the successful carrying out of the social revolution." This second feature makes it difficult to compare the Soviet law with other electoral systems; for it is a temporary revolutionary method of election. The claim made that it secures a more responsive and controlled representation may be discussed how-

ever, for it implies that the Soviet system of election not only meets the demands of politically active masses but contributes to the development of civic activity, and in a way and to an extent that systems of elections in other countries fail to do.

One of the cornerstones of the Soviet electoral systems is the limiting of the suffrage to "toilers"; "bourgeois" elements are excluded from the vote. Lists of such individuals are prepared in each voting unit or district and must be publicly posted in preparation for the elections. The number of those deprived of the vote is in fact small, and it has been decreasing as the suffrage was granted to former bourgeois elements who had become Soviet employees. In rural districts the percentage of disfranchised is about 1 per cent of those of voting age; in the larger cities the percentage of those excluded may rise as high as 6 per cent of the population above eighteen years of age. The returns for the elections of 1925–26 indicated that local election commissions had not enforced the provisions of the constitution with respect to the disfranchisement of all "exploiting" elements. For the elections of the winter of 1926–27 instructions were issued which by their more detailed provisions represented a further limitation of the suffrage as compared with the practice of the previous year.

The basis for exclusion is the exploitation of the labor of another. Peasants or small artisans may use hired labor within prescribed limits or under special circumstances without being disfranchised. Also, a peasant agriculturist may sell the products of his labor without becoming a "trader" and therefore a disqualified "bourgeois" element. But the peasant trader or the private shopkeeper in the village is excluded from all participation in the Soviets and the Soviet elections. All nepmen in the cities, even those who have taken out concessions and are carrying on a legal business in manufacturing or in trade, are disfranchised.

Another ground for disfranchisement is the fact of having held a high position in the old bureaucracy, or any position in the old police force or class institutions of the nobility, even if the individual is now engaged in socially useful work. Members of the "liberal professions" are carefully checked as to the "social usefulness" of their present activity. All former bourgeois elements must give positive evidence of loyalty to the Soviet régime if they wish to vote on the basis of their present status. The clergy of all denominations are deprived of the vote by the constitution. Much is made, in speeches and newspaper reports on elections, of the exclusion from the Soviets of the bourgeois elements, in order to emphasize to the workmen and peasants that the

Soviets are really their institutions, elected by them, and representing only their interests. Workmen and peasants are urged to report to the election committees the names of neighbors who should be on the lists of the disfranchised. Thus the very procedure of elections is made part of the class struggle.

Another basic feature of the Soviet election system is that the representation is of a collective group, organized at the place of work of the group. Workmen vote at the factory in which they are employed; office workers, at the institutions to which they are attached; and students, at the educational institution in which they are studying. Small factories and institutions the number of whose employees is below the unit of representation for the particular class of voters meet together in a common election meeting; these vote in two groups, as trade-union members and as those who do not belong to a trade-union. This latter procedure was adopted in order to give to some at least of these "mixed" election meetings a more organized character. Peasants vote by villages, which are, however, divided up into voting districts where the rural community is a large settlement. Also, in large factories the practice is developing of voting by separate shops or sections of the single enterprise. Only housewives vote on a residence basis. In all other instances the representation is occupational. The Red army soldiers in active service vote by regiments. This method of representation fits in with the emphasis on the "citizen in production." It is insisted that this system makes possible the constant and organized active influence on the deputy by the group which he represents. It is also argued that the voter has a more personal and vital contact with the fellow-worker than he would have with a mere neighbor, and can therefore exercise more intelligent judgment in the selection of the representative.

The indirect character of the Soviet elections limits the actual voting to selection from the small group of which the voter is an active member. The peasant in the village, for example, has completed his participation in the elections when he elects the local Soviet. The local Soviet elects representatives from its own membership to the cantonal Soviet; the cantonal Soviet elects from among its members its quota to the district Soviet; and so forth, through province and region, and All-Russian or All-Ukrainian congresses, to the All-Union congress. In large cities there are ward Soviets, which elect the urban Soviet. The latter elects a quota direct to the All-Russian or All-Ukrainian congress, and also to the congress of the province of which it is the chief city. The urban Soviets of smaller district cities elect to the con-

gress through the district. The All-Union congress elects the All-Union Central Executive Committee, which elects the Council of People's Commissaries.

Whatever its defects may be in other respects, the indirect system of elections does mean that the voter has had a personal contact with the persons for whom he votes. It is also claimed that under this system the practice of periodic reporting back to the constituency, which is theoretically obligatory on the deputy, has been given an effective and real character. The indirect system with its small organized units of representation would seem to make practicable the recall of a representative at any time, which is another feature of the Soviet system. It is possible that the indirect system is more applicable in a country with poor means of communication, a comparatively limited newspaper-reading public, and a population distinctly backward in education and general culture. The elective institutions of the old régime also were elected by systems of indirect voting. The short-lived Constituent Assembly of 1918, on the other hand, was elected by direct vote.

Elections were held at frequent intervals during the first year of the Soviet régime. All-Russian congresses, which presumably meant re-elections of Soviets from the bottom up, were held every three or four months. Then the interval between congresses was lengthened, by the postponement of elections, and there was the period of the "rule by executive committees" without re-elections. At present the constitution provides for yearly elections. However, because of the quashing of the elections of 1924, more than a year elapsed before the election of the next All-Union congress. The delay in the convening of the congress of 1925 led to further postponement of the elections for the 1926 congress, which were concluded only in May, 1927.

The indirect system of elections and the fixing of the place of work as the place of voting make it possible to apportion representation among the various groups of voters. Under the theory of proletarian dictatorship the industrial proletariat is given preference in the apportionment. It is difficult to determine exactly the extent of the preferential representation secured to workmen. In urban elections the basis of representation is the number of voters, while in rural elections the basis is the total population. The unit of representation for the urban voter is five times smaller than that for the rural voter—that is, for the peasant. The representation of workmen is therefore at least twice that of peasants. There is no effort to conceal the preferential representation given to the workmen. Some writers justify it on the basis that it evens up the representation of the two main classes,

the workmen and peasants, the latter being many times more numerous than the former. Further, leadership of the workman class is one of the basic principles of the Soviet system, and the "alliance" between workmen and peasants is never viewed as one of equals. It was suggested recently that the representation of the two classes be made more nearly proportional to their respective numerical strength. Protests against the discrimination in favor of workmen evidently had been voiced by the peasants. But the opposition group in the party dispute had been attacking the majority on this very matter, claiming that the proletarian dictatorship was being allowed to degenerate into a mere peasant democracy. It was subsequently announced that for the present there would be no change in the apportionment of representation.

The voting in Soviet elections is open, by acclamation or by the raising of hands. The secret ballot is not formally prohibited at present, as was the case earlier; it is, however, discouraged, and in fact is not in practice. It is argued that in a period of class struggle it is necessary that all come out openly, without any possibility of concealing views and sympathies. Voting by acclamation or show of hands was the practice in the old pre-revolutionary village meetings, so that there would seem to be no strong feeling against it among the peasants. Among the workmen also, no objection to the open voting has been raised. On the other hand, the low percentage of participation in the elections has been interpreted by opponents as a protest against this method of voting, particularly in view of the continued use of the institution of a political police with wide powers and of the absence of freedom of press and speech.

Campaigning for elections is subject to limitation mainly because of the absence of freedom of organization. There is only the one organized party capable of conducting an organized election campaign. It is the duty of this single party, enjoying a monopoly of legality, to direct the campaign. Lists of candidates are presented always first by the Communist group of the voting unit. Non-party individuals may be, and generally are, included in the lists. Individuals may announce their candidacy, although as a rule individuals come forward and present themselves for election at the election meeting itself, without preliminary campaigning. Non-party voters and representatives of local civic organizations were brought into the local election commissions for the first time for the elections of 1925–26. Also, for these elections individual notices were sent to the voters, and campaign literature was distributed. Thus a more active election campaign was organized.

Meetings were held before and independent of the election meeting, at which reports were made on the work and activity of the party and of the Soviets. These meetings, with the distribution of literature and individual notices of election date, helped to give to the Soviet elections of 1925–26 the character of real elections.

That these elections of 1925–26 were the first free and mass elections is stated by the Communists themselves. The participation in the elections of the peasants was one of the evidences of the marked increase of political activity in the rural districts. Here from 45 to 50 per cent of the qualified voters participated. In the autumn elections of 1925 only 40 per cent had voted, while in 1924 the number of those who came to the election meetings averaged only 10 per cent. In the 1925–26 elections in urban centers 60 per cent of the voters participated. In judging of the percentage of participation in the elections, one must bear in mind the convenience and ease of voting. The election meeting is held at the place of work, work being stopped early on the day set for the election in each particular institution. The voter has to vote only once, and the range of his responsibility is comparatively small. There is perhaps an element of compulsion, in that failure to attend the election meeting is readily noticeable and may be interpreted as indicating an attitude of opposition. This would be the case with respect to the non-workman element in the urban elections. The returns of the elections of 1926–27 show a further slight increase of attendance at election meetings, and particularly an increase of participation of the intelligentsia in rural elections. Among the national minorities there is less political interest, in general, and the percentage of participation in elections is correspondingly lower.

The Communists express concern over what they consider a very large percentage of absenteeism at the Soviet elections. Although the percentage of participation in elections compares favorably with the situation in the other countries, the Communist leaders had put forward very ambitious claims for their system and its principles. For the last two elections careful analyses of the returns have been made to determine the extent of participation in elections. These analyses also show what importance is attached to the principle of proletarian leadership. In the cities non-proletarian groups of voters would seem to have given a greater increase of activity than did the proletarian. Similarly, in the villages the activity of the middle peasants showed a greater increase than did the activity of the poor peasants and agricultural laborers. Opponents have suggested that a policy to reduce

mass activity to prevent the loss of leadership by the proletarian elements would be the logical conclusion to be drawn from these analyses. In fact, in the Communist discussions of the election procedure and returns significance is always attached primarily to the rôle played in the election by the proletarian element of the community.

The pyramid character of the structure of the Soviets and the small unit of representation make for a large number of Soviets with a correspondingly large number of members of Soviets. In the Russian unit, for which alone data on this point were available, there are 375 urban Soviets, with a total membership of about 48,000 deputies. Some 42,000 rural Soviets have in all 665,000 members. There are therefore over 700,000 Soviet deputies. Village Soviets average 16 members, and canton Soviets 50–100 members. For the district and provincial Soviets the average membership is 200. Urban Soviets range from 50 upward, according to the size of the city. The Soviets of Moscow and Leningrad are large bodies, of over 1,000 members. The All-Russian congress contains around 2,000 members. The All-Ukrainian, All-White-Russian, and All-Caucasian congresses are smaller; and the All-Union congress is somewhat larger. The foregoing estimate of the total number of Soviet members did not indicate whether duplication of membership had been taken into account (a member of a higher unit is also a member of the immediately lower unit). However, the Soviet system provides for the close association of a very large number of citizens with the elected institution.

The general sessions of the Soviets are frequent but short. The actual work of the Soviets is carried on by the executive committees, which vary in size from an average of nine in the lower rural Soviets to several hundred in the Central Executive Committee. The function of the Soviet assemblies and congresses is in the main to hear and pass resolutions on the reports of the executive committees. Legislation is proposed, and there is a certain amount of discussion. Debates are becoming more usual and detailed; but in these large bodies with annual sessions of a few days only, current legislative activity is out of the question. Only the larger general issues are formally voted on. The executive committees therefore are given broad legislative powers; the Central Executive Committee, which must meet at least three times a year, corresponds to the parliaments of other representative systems. But the assemblies and congresses are important for the principle of reporting back to the constituency, which the Soviet system aims to apply effectively.

With the turning of attention to the problems of economic recon-

struction, the economic activities, particularly of the urban Soviets, have developed. The Soviets of the two capitals of Moscow and Leningrad, and of the larger cities, have gone into public utilities enterprizes on a more extensive scale. The Soviets have been reorganized to meet the new problems of management by an increase in the number of the "sections," or permanent committees. These permanent committees bring a larger number of the members into the actual work of the Soviet. Particular attention is being given of late to the problem of organizing this so-called "active element" of the members. Rural Soviets also are beginning to develop the practice of permanent committees, on such subjects as education, public health, or co-operative societies. These committees will bring a much larger number of members into the practical legislative and administrative work of the Soviets and will reduce correspondingly the tendency toward rule by executive committees, which has been one of the acknowledged weaknesses of the Soviet system.

Along the same line is another recently developed practice. In the re-elections of Soviets it is the policy to encourage what is called "renewal." The returns for the 1926 elections show a very considerable percentage of new members of Soviets. The policy of renewal of the membership of the executive committees as well as of the general assemblies of the Soviets helps the practice of pushing forward individuals who have shown particular activity. They are selected, as a rule, by the Communist faction to be elected to the next higher unit; and the selection frequently falls on a non-party peasant or workman. Thus a formal system of rewards for civic activity is being developed as one of the features of the Soviet election system. There is already a considerable group of bench-workmen and peasants in Soviets and other institutions who have been thus brought forward into administrative positions of some responsibility. They form a kind of special group referred to as the "pushed-forward ones."

The territorial divisions of the Soviet Union are being redrawn; in the Ukraine the new regioning is already accomplished. Economic features, as opposed to facts of historical development, are to serve as the basis for determining the area of the new administrative divisions. New names will be given to these divisions, to emphasize their economic interests and at the same time to discard old names having associations rooted in the past. Thus sectionalism and narrow localism will be discouraged, it is believed. For the national minorities, particularly the culturally backward ones, the national names will be retained. At the same time in this new regioning the lowest adminis-

trative division, the canton, will be increased in size, mainly in order to reduce the cost of administration. These changes will affect somewhat the structure of the Soviets, in the direction of enlarging the areas covered by local Soviets, and reducing their total number.

In the first year of the Soviet régime the principle of decentralization was broadly applied. The main task of that period was the seizure of power and the establishment of the new authority. Local Soviets, therefore, were allowed the greatest freedom of action. Soon greater centralization of authority was made necessary by the economic and military crises; the Soviet form of government became a highly centralized one. Since 1924, the policy has changed to one of more local autonomy. Recent new statutes have increased the powers of the local Soviets and also their fields of jurisdiction. This new policy is part of the effort to "enliven" the Soviets. However, the pyramid form of structure and the indirect system of elections make for a centralization of authority. The Communists insist, nevertheless, that the principle of organization of the Soviets is the same democratic centralism on which the party is organized.

The question of parties in the Soviets may be disposed of in a few words. The monopoly of legality of the Communist party has been discussed. From this monopoly follows the undisputed leadership of the party in the Soviets. Whether this leadership is to be called "control" or "direction" is largely a matter of words. The Communists use a term which has been translated here by the word "ruling," to designate the position of the party with respect to the Soviets. This ruling position of the party in the Soviets was unqualified during the first years. Then the members of all higher, co-ordinating units of the Soviets were almost exclusively Communists. The practice of appointment from above of the important executive positions in the lower units gave the party adequate control also over the local Soviets. The method of leadership during these years was that of "commanding," as we saw. This kind of leadership tended to discredit the Soviets in the eyes of the masses, as evidenced by the large percentage of absenteeism in the elections of 1924.

The failure of the 1924 elections led to a change in the policy of the party. Orders went out to all party organizations to abandon immediately the current practices and to use only methods of discussion and persuasion to secure and maintain their leadership in the Soviets. The discipline of the party helped to make this change of policy effective, although local Communists found it difficult to change their habits and methods. The Communist leadership was to be main-

tained, and the party monopoly of legality tended to promote an arrogance and arbitrary methods in many party members. But the central party authorities ordered that the principle of election provided for in the constitution be strictly observed. Mass interest and participation in the elections must be secured, and non-party elements brought into the Soviets in larger numbers to share with the party the responsibility for the policies and measures of the government.

The resulting increase of interest and participation in the elections showed that the previous form of leadership had been at least in part responsible for the crisis of 1924. With this change of method of party leadership there came the general campaign to enliven the Soviets, which has been noted in other contexts. The leadership of all Soviet activity by the party remained a matter of principle, however. The following figures show the strength of the party in the Soviets after the elections of 1925–26. These figures cover only the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, the other units not having analyzed in detail the election returns. The Komsomol members are classed here with Communists, although they are found as a rule only in the lower rural Soviets.

In village Soviets the Communists were only 9.9 per cent of the membership; but in the cantonal Soviets they had 25.7 per cent of the general membership, 50.5 per cent of the membership of the executive committees, and 86 per cent of the chairmanships of the executive committees. In the urban Soviets the Communists were also in the minority in the general assemblies, having lost the majority which they had previously held. In 1922, 70 per cent of the membership of urban Soviets were Communists; in 1924 the percentage of party members had fallen to 57 per cent; after the 1925–26 elections only 45.5 per cent of the members returned belonged to the party. Here, also, as in the lower rural units, the non-party element had gained considerably. The Soviets of Moscow and Leningrad were not included in the foregoing figures; in these two centers of the Revolution the overwhelming majority of the members of the Soviets were Communists or Komsomol members.

In the next two tiers of Soviets, the district and the provincial units, the Communists had a clear majority in the general assemblies as well as in the executive committees. In the national congresses and the All-Union congress the Communists became an overwhelming majority. A few non-party members were elected to the Central Executive Committee. Finally the Council of People's Commissaries was exclusively Communist. The returns for the elections of 1926–27 are

still in the process of collection and analysis, but the general summaries show only slight changes in the proportions of Communists and non-party members in the various tiers of Soviets. The indirect system of election of course contributes materially to the increase of party strength from lower to higher unit. Of the some 700,000 members of Soviets, of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, about 115,000 are Communists or Komsomol members.

There has been much discussion abroad of the relationship of Communist party and the Soviet government. Some insist that the two are to be sharply distinguished, while others assert that the Soviet government and Communist party are identical, theoretically as well as practically. In party documents and writings one finds generally the term "party-Soviet," while in governmental documents the term is "Soviet-party." The Communists are now drawing a sharper line of distinction between the party and the government, without abandoning the principle of the ruling position of the party with respect to the Soviets. In justifying their monopoly of legality the Communists are more frequently calling attention to the fact that their party is the only one of the Russian socialist parties which supported the October revolution and the Soviet constitution. At the same time, the Communists insist that it is possible for workmen and peasants to express freely and legally their views with regard to policy either through the Communist party or the non-party elements in all the Soviets. The election of Communists by non-party majorities is explained as evidence of confidence in, and support of, the party and its policies. Non-party majorities in fact do find it expedient to send up to the next higher Soviet the Communists of their membership. This policy may be dictated by expediency as well as confidence in the particular individual or in the party as a whole. It would be expected that the party member would accomplish more for his locality.

The executive committees appoint and control the administrative officials of the Soviet government. The people's commissaries and their assistants are selected by the Central Executive Committee; the boards, or *collegia*, of the commissariats are appointed but are confirmed by the Executive Committee. Appointments often are made on the basis of political considerations to guarantee the ruling position of the party and leadership by Communists. The tenure of office of the Soviet employees is, however, protected by the Soviet trade-union organization of which the Soviet officials form several of the largest branches. But this bureaucracy of the Soviet system numbers about

2,000,000. In this figure are not included the officials of the state railways or of the departments of education and public health.

In their pre-revolutionary literature and programs the Bolsheviks thought to solve the problem of a bureaucracy by the provision that the governmental official should be paid no more than a skilled workman. This theory was put into practice with the establishment of the new order. The limitations on earnings of Communists by the "party maximum" and the holding of all responsible positions by members of the party made it possible to enforce the rule so far as nominal salary was concerned. In the economic administrative bodies the services of technical and managerial experts were secured by special compensation in excess of the fixed norms. For determining the "civil lists," the rule was until recently the same as that for all wage-earners; collective agreements were negotiated and supervised by the trade-unions. But of late there has been a tendency to fix the categories and salaries of the office workers in the enormous army of "civil servants" of the Soviet apparatus of administration. This has been done by the legislative authority, in consultation with the trade-union authorities. It evidently was found expedient to adopt this practice of the "bourgeois" system although it would tend to promote a civil servant class apart from the manual wage-earners, the proletariat. Office-holders often are spoken of as "Soviet workers," and every effort is made to prevent them from becoming "Soviet officials"; but it has been found necessary more and more to stress the struggle against bureaucratism as the new governmental system developed.

The general responsibility which the Communist party carries with respect to the work of the Soviets includes the particular duty of combatting these bureaucratic methods of administration and the bureaucratic spirit in the governmental apparatus. By reason of its form of organization and its strict discipline and control over members, the party claims that it is the strongest force working to eliminate bureaucratism in this new form of government. A party institution, the Control Commission with its local branches, has among its functions that of keeping the individual members of the party or local party organizations to their responsibilities and of taking measures against those members who by their activities, especially in governmental positions, bring discredit on the Soviets as well as on the party. Officially co-ordinated with the governmental institution of Workman-Peasant Inspection, the Control Commission carries out periodic or special investigations of local Communists holding responsible positions in the Soviets. These organs of the party have the power to

impose penalties on members, including expulsion from the party. The Control Commissions, central and local, are constantly removing from the Soviets Communists who are discrediting the party and the Soviet authority by their arbitrary, or even merely bureaucratic, methods of administration. Where the Communist Soviet official has been found guilty of illegal or criminal action, the Control Commission reports the case to the proper governmental authorities for prosecution. During the year of July 1, 1924—July 1, 1925, 46,605 Communists were subjected to party discipline.

What is perhaps the outstanding feature of this party organ and its activity is the open and even advertised method of its work. It invites reports and complaints from individuals. Often it brings non-party workmen and peasants into the actual procedure of investigation, and apparently it is always seeking the widest publicity with respect to its work and its disciplinary measures against individual Communists, or even whole local organizations. It would seem to be the view of the party leaders that unexposed abuses by members are less injurious to the party prestige and leadership than the exposure of such weaknesses of party organization and discipline. In view of their wide powers, there are special regulations with respect to the personnel of these Control Commissions. Members of these important party bodies must be older Communists, with records of responsible activity in the party work. The Control Commissions are the only institutions where the party and the Soviet government are legally completely combined. In all other institutions the party theoretically only works in and through the Soviets. In the field of inspection, however, the party organ and the corresponding government body, the Workman-Peasant Inspection, are merged into a single institution with a common staff.

The People's Commissariat of Workman-Peasant Inspection, to give its full title, is generally called by the abbreviation of "Rabkrin." Before 1922 this was a large body of some 1,300 members. The head of this commissariat was elected by the Central Executive Committee together with the other members of the Soviet of People's Commissaries. The appointment of the staff was subject to confirmation by the Soviet Executive Committee, and only Communists were selected as members of this corps of inspectors. One of the reasons for giving such a large membership to this organ was to utilize it also for the training of peasants and workmen for administrative and executive activity. Covering the state economic enterprises as well as the governmental administrative bodies, the work of the Rabkrin would bring

its members into touch with all aspects of administration and management. However, the unwieldy size of the body lessened its effectiveness as an authority for inspection and control. As one of the most advertised institutions of the Soviet form of government, the Rabkrin was bringing discredit rather than credit to the Soviet régime by its inefficiency. On the other hand, it was essential that this department of government should not develop the very bureaucratic spirit and methods which it was its function to eliminate.

So important was the question of the proper organization of this department of government that Lenin gave his personal and particular attention to it during the last months that he was still able to work. His suggestions for the reorganization of the Rabkrin became in a way the last message of the leader. His contribution to the reform of the Rabkrin is constantly emphasized in order to enhance its prestige and authority in the eyes of the masses. The reform proceeded to reduce the membership and at the same time merged the Rabkrin with the network of Control Commissions of the party. The tendency toward bureaucracy which the smaller membership might promote was to be neutralized by the closer association with and the greater measure of control by the party.

The Rabkrin acts on its own initiative, investigating institutions according to a definite plan. It also welcomes complaints, and receives large numbers of these, against individual "responsible" Soviet officials or particular Soviet institutions. In this way it is to serve as one of the most important connecting links between the governmental apparatus and the masses. Over half of the complaints brought to the Rabkrin are against bureaucratic methods of administration; and, according to the official reports of the Rabkrin, more than three-fourths of these complaints are well grounded. The complaints come from groups as well as individuals. On the basis of their investigations the party Control Commission and the Rabkrin make general studies of the problems of Soviet structure, and, as a department of government on an equal standing with other commissariats, recommend legislative measures to "rationalize" the state administrative and economic apparatus. It is believed that the constant contact with the broader masses of workmen and peasants, guaranteed by the methods used in their work, will prevent these two associated bodies of party and government from themselves becoming bureaucratic. By wide publicity of its work and particularly of its findings, the Rabkrin has undoubtedly done much to reduce arbitrariness in administration. In the widely distributed pamphlet literature on the work of the Rabkrin,

its special importance for the protection of the rights of workmen and peasants is emphasized; and at the same time individual peasants and workmen are urged to help the Rabkrin by sending in reports and complaints. It is the duty of Communists and Komsomol members to take the initiative in this activity and also to help in the organization of the local complaint bureaus which have been set up as part of the machinery of the Rabkrin.

Certain features in the organization and functioning of the law courts under the Soviet system give to the latter a peculiarly democratic character. A number of distinctly novel practices in the administration of the law under the Soviet constitution and the various codes also represent methods adopted to guard against bureaucratic methods in this branch of government. The very informal procedure at the trials of the first years of the Revolution has been considerably modified, but in general the procedure in the Soviet courts of lower instance, and also in the higher courts, is unusually free from formalities and technicalities. In the earlier "people's courts" of 1917 and 1918, the public participated actively and very directly in the conduct of a trial. The courtroom often became little more than another of the mass meetings of this period, for stirring up revolutionary enthusiasm and spreading slogans of the Revolution. In the period of civil war the regular law courts were overshadowed by the special tribunals, in which the principle of "mass terror" was adopted. Some of the laws of this period made it a civic duty of the workman and peasant to spy and report on the "class enemy," and under certain special circumstances administer direct reprisals in the name of the Revolution.

With the return to more normal conditions, the slogan in this field became that of "Revolutionary Legality." Codes were prepared and enacted, and the originally conceived system of law courts actually set up and developed. In the lower "people's courts" as well as in the higher "provincial courts," the professional single judge has associated with him two "people's accessories." These might be called also "people's jurors." Like the professional judge, these people's jurors are elected by the Soviet of the jurisdiction of the court. The list of the jurors is made up for one year, and each juror serves from five to six days. The people's jurors always sit with the people's judge and have the same power as the latter in all respects. The Soviet judicial procedure provides for active participation of the presiding judge in the bringing out of the facts of the case, and the jurors also may put questions freely to the accused and to witnesses. The jurors retire

with the professional judge to formulate the decision of the court, having equal authority in the determination of the verdict and the fixing of the penalty where the verdict finds the accused guilty. The professional judge generally reads the verdict of the court, however. Often, it is true, the people's jurors function as little more than spectators in the open session of the trial, seldom using their right to question and cross-examine. The language of the verdicts would also indicate that the jurors play a rather passive rôle in the deliberation of the three to arrive at the verdict.

The informality of the procedure also makes it possible for the public to follow the case easily. The courtrooms are always crowded, and the interest in the procedure is keen. Strict rules of order are not enforced, and laughter or comment from the public is frequent. In this way the public in a sense continues to assist the court, as was the practice of the first years of the Revolution. This freedom allowed to the public is dictated by a second principle which the Soviet leaders are trying to introduce in the administration of justice, namely, the educative rôle of trials. The idea of training workmen and peasants for the responsibilities of government is to be found here also. Often a trial will be held at a factory, after working hours, so that workmen can more easily attend. Big political trials have been conducted in the largest theaters, with elaborate staging and publicity. The law courts in such instances are used frankly for the purpose of political propaganda. It should be noted that this practice is becoming less frequent; the interest in these demonstrative trials was found to be waning.

The public is brought into the administration of justice by another somewhat novel institution. Provision is made for what are called "social prosecutors," who are quite distinct from the regular public prosecutors of the People's Commissariat of Justice. These prosecutors are private citizens who come forward and ask to be associated with the prosecution of a case, in connection with which they wish to bring out some particular public interest. One is told that such "stepping forward" from the public may take place quite spontaneously at any moment in the procedure of the trial. The number of such instances of stepping forward is given at some 14,000 during the period of a year in 1925–26. The individual may come forward in his own name or as the representative of an organization such as a trade-union. The Communist party as such has been represented at several trials by a social prosecutor. When the individual represents an organization, this institution loses that element of spontaneity which would seem to be its chief merit. But even under these conditions, the

practice is of value in two respects. It represents another means to reduce the bureaucratic tendencies within a governmental institution; also, it has a civic-training aspect and gives workmen and peasants the opportunity to learn the principles of the administration of justice by actual participation in it.

The Soviet methods of recruiting and organizing the armed forces of the Union are based on principles which it is believed will strengthen Soviet democracy and correspondingly reduce the bureaucratic tendencies of a military organization. The Red Guards of the first months of the Revolution were voluntary bodies of workmen. They represented literally the "arming of the proletariat," as a first step in the revolutionary process. When it became necessary to have a better organized military force and the Red army was founded, the principle of voluntary enlistment was retained. Very soon, however, obligatory military service was introduced, and this is the basis at present. At the same time the policy of a militia system in the place of a standing army was discussed; and during the last years a territorial militia system has been started side by side with the regular Red army, and is gradually being extended. With this development the size of the Red army has been reduced. Those called to the colors but not enlisted into the regular service are assigned to a kind of militia service. In some instances the whole quota of recruits from a particular area will be organized on the territorial militia basis.

In these so-called "territorial divisions" the basic idea is to avoid the political influence of an institutionalized army as well as the financial and economic burden of a large standing army. The term of service in the territorial units is considerably less than that in the Red army and is spread out over five years. Where possible, the peasant, for example, is called to training at periods which will interfere the least with his work. In the case of a workman, part of the military training is carried on while the young man is working at his trade. In every case the place of training is close to the place of work of the young recruit, and his earning capacity is only slightly reduced by the short periods, extended over a term of five years, when he goes into the barracks or camp. It is the idea that ultimately the armed forces of the Soviet Union will consist only of these territorial divisions.

With respect to the Red army, there are principles of organization which similarly aim to prevent the young man in active service from being withdrawn from the influence of everyday civil life. The army is considered to be inevitably drawn into the political struggle

of the progressing Revolution. Special attention is given to political propaganda and civic training in the army, so that the Red army soldier can play an active political rôle while in service, and later as a citizen who has had special training as a fighter. The civic training work in the Red army is so important that it will be discussed as a subject in itself. Soviet soldiers and sailors in active service do not lose their citizenship rights. They are called "citizen-fighters" and participate in elections and are represented in the Soviets. Membership in a trade-union is suspended for the period of service, but the demobilized soldier or sailor is immediately reinstated. On the other hand, the co-operative movement has penetrated the barracks and ships and is actively promoted by the authorities. The Communist party and the Komsomol have their cells in the army barracks or on the naval ships, as in factories or other institutions.

To insure that the soldier or sailor will not be withdrawn completely from everyday life and interests, the patronage movement is developed, particularly with respect to the Red army. It is the duty of the factory or other institution that has assumed the patronage of a regiment stationed in its neighborhood, to see that the soldiers are brought into the life and activities of the factory as far as time permits. The Komsomol became the patron for the Red navy, and its local groups perform a similar service for the sailors. Finally, the army participates in the larger celebrations and even smaller civic events much more extensively than is the practice in other countries.

It is always asserted that the discipline enforced in the Red army and Red navy is of a less rigorous character than that which prevailed under the old régime or which is maintained in the armies of other countries. A policy of comradely relationship between the commanding staffs and the red armyists seems in fact to be in practice. The words "officer" and "soldier" are not used, although it has been impossible to eliminate the use of these words in this discussion. Even when on duty, the soldier or sailor is one of the people; and on several occasions the very informal attitude of the people on the street toward the man in uniform was most noticeable, particularly as compared with the regulations and habits in the old Russia. The aim of the Soviet military training is to produce a *citizen*-fighter, and emphasis is placed on the first term in many practical ways. The ultimate complete substitution of the territorial militia system for a standing army, which is theoretically the aim, will give greater force to this emphasis.

Outside the congresses and conferences of the Soviets and the par-

ty, or the congresses of trade-unions, co-operatives, and other primarily economic organizations, there are two sets of conferences which should be noted in this chapter on the Soviet form of state. They are the Conferences of Delegates of Workwomen and Peasant Women and the so-called Production Conferences. Both these institutions will be discussed later, the Production Conferences in connection with the educational work of the trade-unions, and the Delegates' Conferences in the discussion of the special emphasis on civic training among women. Both of these bodies have a continuous activity, and one of the phases of this activity is directed toward the Soviets in general and the governmental apparatus in particular. They are part of the growth of a Soviet democracy, and also part of the organized effort to combat bureaucratic methods of administration.

The general character and special features of the Soviet budget and system of taxation are widely discussed in speeches and press, and these discussions emphasize the planning of economic development, the large percentage of productive expenditures, and the gradual increase of the revenue from the state enterprises with a corresponding reduction of the burden of taxation. These features are allegedly peculiar to the budget of a workman-peasant state. An analysis of these claims is outside the scope of this study, but the character of the budget under the Soviet system is believed by the Communists to promote a more conscious and active support of the new order. Only from this viewpoint are certain features of Soviet public finance noted.

The Soviet tax system has undergone many changes. In the first period all direct taxes were abolished except an Extraordinary Revolutionary Tax, levied on the propertied classes as part of the program of expropriation. The requisitioning of the surplus products of the peasants was also an extraordinary revolutionary measure, directed against a semihostile economic class at a moment of crisis. With the adoption of the New Economic Policy in 1921, taxes were reintroduced. For the peasants there was at first a tax in kind, which was gradually changed to a tax payable in the re-established currency. This was a graduated tax, and the number exempted was increased from year to year as agricultural production revived and attained its pre-war level. By 1928, 35 per cent of the peasant households had been completely freed from this tax, which was the principal direct tax falling on the peasantry. The workmen as a class at first were exempted from all taxes when the system of taxation was re-established. Then there was introduced a graduated income tax which reached also the workmen. With respect to the new bourgeoisie, taxa-

tion has been used as one of the means of control and subordination of these "hostile" economic elements. Thus the direct taxes can be interpreted as based primarily on the class principle. Kalinin has summarized the Soviet tax policy as follows: "Under the Soviet system the main burden of the tax falls on the more prosperous elements of the population and from year to year there is an increase in the number of those completely freed from tax."

Recognizing that the peasants were becoming more and more conscious of the weight of the burden of taxation which they have been carrying, there was introduced what was called "self-taxation" for peasants during 1927–28. There had been the practice of local assessments or taxes, but they had not been organized or carried out with the proper class approach. Under the new law a local village assembly may tax itself up to 35 per cent of the basic agricultural tax, on the same scale of assessment as that of the latter. This self-taxation must be for local cultural improvements and developments such as schools, hospitals, or roads. The poorer element, exempted from all taxes, are counted on to promote and carry through this new measure. It is too early to judge of the effectiveness of this measure, although already there has been recognition of the fact that the richer and even the middle peasants have opposed it, seeing in it simply another form of direct tax. However, the idea of self-taxation was expected to develop a more conscious civic attitude in the peasantry. It should be noted, however, that it was introduced simultaneously with the campaign against the rich peasant, and was therefore also one of the weapons of the class struggle. As such it would promote the political activity particularly of the poorer element of the peasantry, which was considered the main support of the proletarian dictatorship in the villages.

The Soviet system makes provision for public loans, and by 1927 there had been about twenty such credit operations. In April, 1928, the total amount of the public debt was a little over one billion rubles. The cost of these loans has been considerable because of the rates of interest and of the lottery feature which a large number of them carried. In 1925 it was estimated that these public loan obligations were held by not more than a few hundred thousand individuals. In 1928 it was announced that at least ten million individuals had invested in these obligations of the Soviet government. The floating of these loans has always been interpreted as having a very important political aspect, "evidencing the confidence of the masses in the Soviet government, in the Soviet system and particularly in the Soviet economic

policies"; and the policy of a wide distribution of subscriptions to the loan was adopted even when it entailed a higher cost to the public treasury.

To secure a direct interest in the loan, in almost every instance it was earmarked for a particular purpose. There were several "peasant loans," to assist the peasant to dispose of his crops and meet his tax obligations. One of the largest loans was the "Industrialization Loan" of 1926–27, which was taken up by individual workmen as well as by state trusts. A corresponding "Agricultural Development Loan" was floated during the winter of 1927–28. In the case of this loan, 10 per cent of the amount subscribed in each rural canton was to be expended in that particular locality; there was also the lottery feature in addition to the provision for interest. The last loans were issued in small denominations of five and less rubles in order to make it possible for the individual to participate directly. The practice of collective subscriptions permitted the subscription of an even smaller amount, and provision was made in some instances for payment by instalments. The floating of a loan has been accompanied by a broad and active campaign. Party, Komsomol, and Pioneers, trade-unions and co-operatives, certain civic organizations, and the whole press have been mobilized on instructions from their respective co-ordinating centers. The distribution of quotas, informal competition between localities, the practice of challenging other members of a group or another similar group, have been the methods adopted in the drives for subscriptions to a loan. Direct and indirect methods of compulsion have been used, especially by the local authorities, although there was always preliminary warning against such methods or sharp condemnation of them by the central authorities when they were discovered.

Lenin stated early in the history of the development of the new Soviet type of state that strong government would be one of its characteristics. On one occasion he warned that there would be more and stronger government than anything the Russian people had experienced under tsarism. Methods of repression and also of compulsion have been used without hesitation and with respect to all kinds of activity. From the very beginning a special organ was conceived and developed to make effective the policies of repression; the name of this organ indicated its special powers and its wide field of jurisdiction —"The Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counter-Revolution, Sabotage, and Speculation." The long title of this institution was soon abbreviated, abroad as well as at home, to "Cheka," from the initial letters of its first terms. The word "Cheka" came to be used

only in a whisper by all opposition elements and always with respect by all sympathizers.

With the conclusion of the acute civil war, the Cheka was nominally abolished, being replaced by the state political administration or "G.P.U." in the abbreviated form of the name. Although more restricted in its powers, and theoretically at least less active, the G.P.U. inspires the same terror in some and respect in others that its parent the Cheka did. This is the idea and purpose of the institution. On its tenth anniversary the Cheka-G.P.U., as it was termed, was accorded a special celebration in view of its importance to the Revolution and its place in the Soviet system. On this occasion it was described as the organ of repression of the rising classes of workmen and peasants with respect to the dying classes of landlords and capitalists. Stalin characterized it as "the unsheathed sword of the proletariat." Other definitions read: "The Cheka-G.P.U., the organ of workman-peasant defense," "The glorious colleague of the Red army in the defense of the proletarian state," or "The true friend of workmen and peasants."

If repressive measures reach to the workman or peasant, it is because the latter have betrayed the cause of their class. In its policy of compulsion as opposed to repression, this organ, like the Soviet government as a whole, is, on the one hand, forcing hostile classes to serve the workmen and peasants and, on the other, making the individual workman and peasant put the interests of their respective class above their own individual interests. It cannot be determined to what extent these explanations of the activity of the Cheka-G.P.U. satisfy the workmen and peasants as a whole. There is among these also, as among the intelligentsia, a deep and wholesome respect for this institution. To make the workmen feel that this institution is in fact theirs, or in any case is working in their interests, they have been brought into direct participation in its activity. This was the idea of the "mass terror" and the encouragement of voluntary spying and denouncing during the years of civil war. At present, also, such cooperation is claimed. In the recent Shakhta trial it was constantly emphasized that the "economic counter-revolution" and sabotage of which a group of fifty engineers were accused, was discovered by the G.P.U. with the assistance of the workmen. That hostile classes or groups and the "bourgeoisie" of other countries hate and attack the very idea of the G.P.U. is interpreted as the clearest evidence that it functions in the interests of the workmen and peasants and must be retained as an institution of the Soviet system.

Only the more outstanding features of the Soviet governmental

structure have been noted here. Our interest was to point out to what extent it is more than a mere bureaucratic formula to speak of the "government of workmen and peasants." One of the frequently quoted phrases of Lenin is that "only in the Soviets does the mass of the exploited begin actually to learn the tasks of socialist construction, and not from books but from practical experience." The Workman-Peasant Inspection carries as one of its mottoes "Under Mass Control." At the last party congress, of December, 1927, Stalin, in summarizing the sources of strength of the Soviet government, first pointed out that it brought authority into close touch with the masses of workmen and peasants through the Soviets. The governmental apparatus was not walled off from the masses but was merged with them through the many mass organizations, all sorts of commissions, sections of Soviets and conferences. He found the main weakness of the Soviet governmental apparatus in the continued presence of bureaucratic tendencies. The most important weapon against bureaucratism in his opinion was the cultural development of the workmen and toiling peasantry. And he emphasized that the Soviets were schools of government for hundreds of thousands of workmen and peasants. On this point he called attention to the fact that during the preceding two years, three most important governmental posts had been filled by workmen—the chairmanship of the Supreme Soviet of National Economy, the presidency of the Moscow Soviet and also that of the Leningrad Soviet.

The Soviet type of state with its Soviet form of government is based on so-called Soviet democracy. The content of these terms as summarized here will be further illustrated in the discussion of other institutions and aspects of the Soviet order. It is clear that bureaucratism has not been eliminated with the introduction of this Soviet form of government, although, on the other hand, there is no question that the masses in larger numbers are becoming more interested and active in the Soviets. This interest is one of the manifestations of increased political activity in general, and particularly among the peasants. Workmen and peasants are showing in many ways that they consider the Soviets their own institutions, and national groups also are using the Soviets for the expression of their national cultural aspirations.

CHAPTER VII

THE SOVIET TRADE-UNIONS

The right of organization is one of the conquests of the Revolution for the workmen and wage-earners in general. The Soviet trade-unions have at present over 10,000,000 members. In this "toilers' state" the trade-unions are the most important organization after the Soviets and the Communist party. The relation of the trade-unions to the Soviet government has been a matter of dispute. It is clear, however, that under the proletarian dictatorship the trade-union authorities are secured a real voice in the determination of governmental policy, and in turn assume responsibilities of an official governmental character. The Soviet trade-unions are expected not only to protect the interests of their members as wage-earners but also to give particular attention to educational and general cultural work carried on under Communist leadership. Through this cultural work, as well as through their activities in the Soviets and their relations to the state economic enterprises, the trade-unions serve as "a school of Communism, in which workmen develop their activeness, combat defects of the governmental machinery . . . . and learn by experience to build the socialistic order," to quote from the resolutions of the fourteenth congress of the Communist party. "Communist training" is the basis of many institutions, as we have seen; but it is for the trade-unions that the specific term "school of Communism" is reserved.

Under the old régime in Russia, workmen's organizations were able to make little headway despite the rapid growth of an industrial proletariat beginning with the last decades of the nineteenth century. The old authorities feared particularly the "landless proletariat" and deliberately limited and circumscribed all activity that manifested itself in this rapidly increasing class. Where the workmen did manage to form small organized groups, underground methods had to be adopted. All such groups became by force of circumstances potentially revolutionary; political struggle rather than the protection of their economic interests was in the foreground in their programs and activities, under the influence of the professional revolutionists who supplied the leadership. Seeing that the tendency toward organization could not be completely crushed, the police authorities of Mos-

cow at one moment adopted a plan conceived by a certain Zubatov, of allowing and secretly controlling the organization of the workmen. The Gapon movement among the workmen of Petersburg in 1904, was a somewhat similar enterprise. This idea of a police-controlled workmen's movement was not widely applied and was soon abandoned; it is mentioned as one of the traditions in the Russian workmen's movement.

In the revolution of 1905 the workmen's movement was one of the principal forces. Unions were organized as part of the revolutionary movement, and the right to form unions was freely exercised during the period of the revolution. By the end of 1905 there were some 650 trade-unions, with over 300,000 members. An All-Russian conference was held, and central bureaus were established in the larger cities. The various unions were co-ordinated in the Union of Unions, which contributed to the success of the general strike of October, 1905. The October manifesto which granted the elective national assembly, also promised the freedom of union. A second conference of trade-unions was held early in 1906. Under less rigid censorship conditions newspapers and journals for workmen were started, representing the beginning of the educational and cultural activities of the workmen's movement.

But the movement that developed during the revolutionary year of 1905 was gradually suppressed by the reaction which set in as early as 1906. Despite the promise in the October manifesto, freedom of union was not secured by the revolution of 1905. In order to form a union it was necessary to obtain preliminary permission from the governmental authorities, and permission often was withheld or later withdrawn on all sorts of grounds. Many of the unions formed during 1905 were closed down by the authorities, while others went "underground."

A law on compulsory insurance for workmen, enacted shortly before the outbreak of the war, promised to furnish a basis for the organization of the workmen. But even the insurance societies formed under this law were carefully and strictly limited. The awakening of all classes of the Russian public which came with the war reached also the workmen. The attitude of suspicion which the government took toward manifestations of public initiative in connection with the many problems of war conditions was particularly marked when the workman class was concerned. Only with the greatest difficulty were the leaders of industry able to secure permission to include representatives from the workmen in the War Industry Committees which they

organized. The short period of activity of these bodies, and the limited participation of the workmen in them, prevented such participation from becoming a fact of wide importance to the workman class as a whole. Thus, on the eve of the first revolution of 1917 the workmen of Russia were practically denied the right of organization. Twenty-three small unions, carrying on a very meager kind of existence, represented the sum-total of achievement.

The first months following the February revolution of 1917 were a period of feverish organization in the conditions of the absolute freedom that characterized this first stage of revolution. It was primarily a political movement, and the political activity of the workmen expressed itself first of all in and through the Soviets of Workmen's Deputies, which sprang up in all cities and industrial centers. The Soviets of this first period rested on Factory Committees organized in all the large industrial enterprises. At the same time the workmen were being organized by the leaders of the various socialist parties upon economic lines in what would correspond to trade-unions. There was much parallelism of functions and jurisdiction between the Soviets of that period and the more strictly trade-union movement. A third All-Russian conference of trade-unions was convened in June, 1917, after an interval of over eleven years (the second conference held in 1906 was noted above). In the four months since the overthrow of the old régime, trade-unions had sprung up all over the country and in all fields of industry. Nine hundred and sixty-seven unions, with a total membership of about 1,500,000, were represented at this third conference. Fifty-one Inter-Union Central Bureaus had already been set up. The conference elected an All-Russian Central Soviet of Trade-Unions. On the eve of the October revolution the membership of the trade-unions had been brought up to some 2,000,000.

In the meantime the institution of the Factory Committee had been adopted and widely introduced, and a workman press had been started, supplementing the official organs of the Soviets and official newspapers of the various socialist parties. During the re-elections of the local Soviets and of the municipal councils under the new electoral law based on universal and equal suffrage, the trade-unions played an important rôle. The Bolshevik party organization was able to make its important political gains in these elections in large part because of its activity among the now better organized workman class, particularly of Petrograd and Moscow. An All-Russian conference of Factory Committees was held on the very eve of the October revolution. It was called on the initiative of the Bolsheviks, to compete with the

executive board set up by the trade-union conference of June, at which the Mensheviks had the majority. This struggle between the rival party fractions for the control of the organizations of the workmen was decided by the October revolution. After the victory of the Bolsheviks the Factory Committees and the trade-unions were combined, the former becoming the primary units of the latter. An All-Russian congress of trade-unions was convened. It was a congress as opposed to conference, and on that ground claimed a higher authority superseding that of the existing Central Soviet and of other trade-union bodies. Some of the latter would not recognize the congress, continuing to function independently as part of the protest against the Bolshevik seizure of power. The policy adopted by the Bolshevik-controlled congress was to bring the trade-unions completely into the institutional structure of the new Soviet state.

Although several trade-unions continued a more or less independent line of action, ultimately, under the stress of the internal struggle, all of the trade-unions were soon practically governmentalized. With the full expression of "militant" or "integral" Communism, which came by 1920, the trade-unions became instruments of compulsion, of the new authorities, with respect to the workmen. Membership became mechanical; all employed in state enterprises were registered as members of the trade-union for the particular field of production, and the membership dues were deducted from their wages at source. This meant compulsory membership. The system of rationing by cards, of food, lodging, clothing, and many other services, rested in part on this compulsory membership. Also, the trade-unions were used to enforce the regulations on compulsory labor, the labor mobilizations, and the allocation of workmen to fields of industry or particular factories, which were some of the outstanding practices of this period of militant, or integral, Communism. The attempt to organize labor armies was in the direction of the militarization of labor (in the literal sense of the word) and was short lived.

At the same time the "workman control" of industry which had been introduced, by which workmen's organizations were represented in a form of collegiate management, was considerably reduced by the adoption of the principle of management by a single, responsible individual. Finally, elections were practically abolished in the trade-unions, as in the Soviets, during this period of civil war, and the leadership in the trade-unions was by appointment. The Communist party became the ruling party in the trade-unions as in the Soviets of this period. Thus there was little of the element of workman democracy in

the structure; the leadership became bureaucratic and was rapidly losing all real contact with the masses, who in turn took little active interest in the bodies of which they were members by compulsion and to which they paid no dues directly.

Only the main features of the Soviet trade-unions of the period of militant Communism have been noted, in order to bring out the radical modifications that came in the next period. The New Economic Policy led to changes also in the functions of the workmen's organization and to corresponding changes in their structure. These developments, which began in 1922, will not be chronologically followed. The question of the rôle of the trade-unions was one of the points of discussion within the Communist ranks, the details of which also need not be noted. It will be adequate for the purposes of this study to outline the structure and functions of the trade-unions as we find them at present. The Communists now point with pride to the trade-unions of today, with their membership of over 10,000,000, as representing one of the main agencies by which a workman democracy is growing up under the Soviet system.

The Soviet trade-unions are organized on the basis of the field of production, although the Russian term for which the English "trade-union" has been used is "professional union." This principle of organization was adopted by the third All-Russian conference of June, 1917, that is, by the Mensheviks, before the October revolution. It was not fully carried out until 1920, however. By this principle all engaged in a given line of production are brought together in a single union; and the union includes the managerial, technical, and office staffs as well as the bench-workmen in a given industry or field of work. Organization in trade-unions has been extended to all fields of socially useful work, wherever there are wage-earners liable to exploitation.

There are, in all, twenty-three trade-unions, of metal workers, textile workers, railway workers, and so forth. The Trade-Union of Soviet Workers covers the employees of all Soviet administrative bodies. The Trade-Union of Workers in Education embraces research scientists, teachers of all grades, and the administrative staffs of educational institutions, including the janitors of the buildings. Journalists form a separate section within this trade-union, enjoying a certain measure of autonomy. In industrial trade-unions there are also "technical engineering sections." Agricultural laborers working on wages, and even the large class of shepherds, hired by the village community to take the cows and horses of the individual households

to the communal pastures, are being unionized. Students in educational institutions may be members of the union of that field for which they are preparing themselves. The strictly industrial unions do not enjoy any special privileges as compared with the non-industrial, although to bench-workmen is secured, by law or by-laws, leadership in the Soviets and party. As a matter of fact, the industrial unions are the most active; certain activities are confined in the main to them, and the educational work of the unions aims primarily to reach the strictly workman element, although the intellectual and clerk elements are also being "retrained" side by side with the proletariat, through close contact with it and under its leadership.

"One line of production—one union" is therefore one of the principles of Soviet trade-unionism; this gives centralized unions of enormous size and corresponding strength. It is claimed that narrow professional interests are subordinated to common class interests by this method of organization. This organization by fields of production is dictated, it is explained, by the policy of bringing the trade-unions into actual participation in the work of economic reconstruction, which is possible only when all the workmen and workers in a given enterprise are united in a single trade-union, through which they can live the life of the entire particular field of production.

The inclusion of all classes of wage-earners in the Soviet trade-unions accounts in part for the extremely large number covered by the movement as a whole. The growth of the last years has been due mainly to the unionizing of the wage-earning elements of the peasantry. Particular attention was turned to this "village proletariat," which was reached by the Trade-Union of Laborers on Land and in Forests; for the *batrak*, or village agricultural laborer, is the object of particular solicitude. The Builders' Union is composed for the most part of peasants who return to their villages for the winter months. The basic methods of organization adopted for the movement as a whole have been found inapplicable to many formally enrolled trade-union members. It is believed, however, that there has been sufficient increase in the membership of industrial unions (in which is included the union of railway workers) to maintain the leadership of this more strictly proletarian element. With the union of railway workers, the industrial unions have over 70 per cent of the total membership. These facts have been emphasized to answer the statements that the Soviet trade-union movement has become largely one of petty officials, bureaucrats, and intelligentsia. The two largest non-industrial unions are those of Workers in Education and Soviet Employees. The wages received by

these two groups are notoriously low. These "workers" do not therefore represent a "bourgeois" element, as compared with the proletarian membership of the Soviet trade-unions.

Membership in the Soviet trade-unions is now voluntary, the principle of compulsory membership having been abandoned in 1922. Admission is on application, and there must be formal action on the application. All deprived of the suffrage are as a matter of course refused admission to membership in a trade-union. The employees in private enterprises who have the right of hiring and dismissing workmen or other employees come under this provision. Members of producers' co-operative enterprises and individuals engaged in household industries *(Kustar)* are also not admitted to trade-union membership. Finally, war veterans on pensions are included in the specific list of those whose applications for membership must be refused.

The introduction of the principle of voluntary membership in 1922 led to an immediate and sharp decline of registered members. Soon, however (by 1925), the membership had passed the high figure attained when it was compulsory. The increase has continued during the last years, as new groups were brought in and larger percentages of the wage-earners in each group or field were reached. The aim is to bring into the trade-unions all wage-earners of all categories. Industrial workmen and village laborers are still the main objectives in the membership campaigns; it is hoped soon to have these two groups unionized completely. It is estimated that 90 per cent of the wage-earners of the Soviet Union are already members of trade-unions.

The actual conditions of employment suggest that the former practice of compulsory membership has not been in fact completely outlived. There has been increasing unemployment during the last years. At the same time a régime of economy has been calling for radical reductions in the overstaffed offices and factory shops. It is generally admitted that trade-union members are the last to be dismissed and the first to be employed, although there are no specific regulations to this effect. Perhaps this is only a tendency, for there are many trade-unions members in the vast army of unemployed. But clearly it is a great advantage in the matter of securing employment to be a trade-union member. Applications for membership from a person out of employment are generally refused, it would seem. In any case, such an applicant would find it difficult to prove his or her status as a "citizen in production" with the right to membership. Unemployed of the toiling intelligentsia say that it is practically impossible to get a job

without being a trade-union member, and just as impossible to become a member unless one has a job. For these, and equally for workmen, apparently there is still an element of compulsion in the matter of trade-union membership. In any case, there is a special stimulus to join a union.

Trade-union membership carries with it certain very substantial privileges. Special discounts are given to members at state stores, for example. The children of members are put at the head of the waiting-lists for admission to the schools, which cannot accommodate a considerable percentage of the applicants. Many tickets for theaters and other entertainments are distributed through the trade-union. Finally, there are the educational and cultural activities of the trade-unions, to which non-members are admitted, as we shall see, but more as guests than active participants. On the other hand, membership implies obligations, of which the most real is the payment of dues. The preliminary payment, constituting a kind of initiation fee, is half of the day's earnings of the new member. The regular dues are levied at the rate of 2 per cent of the wages and are collected monthly. The collecting of the dues is remarkably well organized, although they are now paid individually by each member, and monthly. There is the obligation to attend regularly all meetings of the local unit and carry out all tasks in connection with the civic work of the local unit, as assigned by its elected authorities. There is not, however, the fixed obligatory minimum of public activity which is required of members of the party or Komsomol, for example.

Women are admitted to the trade-unions on an absolute equality with men. The percentage of women employed in industry who have become members is considerably smaller than that of men. On the other hand, the women among Soviet employees are unionized to the same percentage as the men. Women agricultural laborers, the women *batraks*, are also being reached slowly. One of the purposes of the special organization for women, the Conferences of Delegates of Workwomen and Peasant Women, is to develop more interest and activity on the part of working women in the trade-union movement. Persons under eighteen years of age may be members of trade-unions; they may vote in all trade-union elections but may not be elected to any positions in the various committees or commissions.

With the rapid decline of membership after 1922, when the principle of voluntary membership was adopted, the trade-union leaders set about to "enliven" the trade-unions. First of all, there was the strict enforcement of the principle of election in all trade-union com-

mittees and congresses. Just as in the Soviets, the practice of appointing from above the responsible leaders of the lower units had become very general in the trade-unions, under the stress of the revolutionary struggle. At present this practice is said to have been abandoned completely, even by the local workers. The elections are frequent, particularly of the primary unit; and the policy of bringing fresh elements into the elective offices at each re-election is urged by the leaders of the movement. In this way, it is believed, a trade-union bureaucracy will not develop and become intrenched in office. Also by these "renovations" the trade-unions became in fact a school of Communism. For the elective officers of trade-unions are the active element in the movement, carrying out specific tasks and responsible not only to the group that elects them but also to the next higher authority in the trade-union structure. The frequent changes in the lower elective bodies help to bring out the more active and responsible workers, who may then be pushed forward to positions of greater responsibility. The practice of pushing forward the active element, which is always emphasized as a feature of organization in the Soviet system, would seem to have the most systematic application in the trade-unions.

The organizational structure of the trade-unions is very similar to that of the Soviets and of the party. The primary unit is the Factory Committee, or the local committee for a non-industrial institution or a rural community. If there are less than twenty-five wage-earners in a factory, they will send a delegate to a committee shared with another factory. In a small rural community there will generally be a single local committee for members of all trade-unions, a kind of inter-trade-union local committee. The Factory Committees are elected by all employees of the enterprise, whether they are members of the trade-union or not. The policy of admitting non-members to vote for the officers of the Factory Committee is in line with the aim to bring all workmen into the movement. In the case of the local committee of a non-industrial enterprise or a rural district, non-members presumably may also participate in the elections.

These primary units send representatives to district congresses, which elect directing boards or committees; and these, in turn, send delegates to provincial congresses, which elect the provincial board. Provincial boards send delegates to the All-Union congress of the union. Each union holds an All-Union congress at least once in two years. In the case of the independent or autonomous republics, the names of the district and provincial units will be national, and there may be a congress for the area of the political unit. But the highest

authority for all is the All-Union congress. The trade-union organization therefore crosses the lines based on nationality which are recognized by the federal character of the Soviet Union.

The All-Union congress of each trade-union elects a Central Committee, which is the highest authority within each trade-union. In addition, in each province, region, or national republic a congress of all the trade-unions is held. This congress elects a Soviet of Trade-Unions, which is called by the name of the province, region, or national republic. This Soviet has bureaus and secretariats in the lower administrative units of district and canton, respectively. These Soviets also elect delegates to an All-Union congress, which elects the All-Union Central Soviet of Trade-Unions, the supreme authority of the whole trade-union movement. The All-Union Central Soviet of Trade-Unions has the power to remove elected officers and dissolve local organizations for violation of its decisions. Here, again, the term "democratic centralism" is used by the Communists to characterize the principle of the structure of the trade-unions. The Central Committees of all trade-unions and the All-Union Central Soviet of Trade-Unions are housed together in one of the largest buildings of Moscow, which was formerly an orphanage and is now called the "Palace of Labor." The publication activities of the various unions are centered in this same structure. This headquarters on the bank of the Moscow River near the Kremlin is one of the most active and bustling institutions of the Soviet capital.

On April 1, 1926, there were 56,000 factory or local committees. The total membership of these committees was 226,000 of whom 28,000 devoted all of their time to the work of the committee and were paid by the trade-union for the period of this activity. The trade-union workers are reinstated in their former positions in factory or institution at the expiration of their terms of election. In large factories there are what are called "workshop" delegates to the Central Committee of the factory, and they numbered 800,000. In the various commissions of a factory or local committee, whose activities will be discussed later, there were 642,000 members and 870,000 workshop delegates to these commissions. Thus it was reckoned that a total of 1,738,000 had been drawn into the work of the trade-unions in the lower, basic units. These figures did not include the collectors of membership dues, who by this activity are considered as participating in organized, trade-union activity. The percentage of those who devote all of their time to trade-union activities is comparatively small, it will be noted. These constitute the trade-union active element. All

members of committees, and of commissions of such, are designated as the "lower" trade-union active element. The factory or local committee is often referred to as the "school of activeness." Through elections held every six months this active element is constantly changing, and therefore in reality is larger even than the above figures would indicate. At the elections of 1926 the membership of the factory and local committees on an average was renovated 50 per cent, and in some instances to a greater percentage.

The trade-unions are a non-party mass organization; but the leadership in them, as in all Soviet organizations, is exercised by the party and the Komsomol. Of the trade-union active element described above, about 30 per cent were Communists. In the higher units, and in the central, co-ordinating units, the percentages are correspondingly larger, as in the case of the Soviets, due to the indirect system of election and also to the better organized activity of the higher party bodies. There is complaint by the Communist leaders that the lower party units have not secured the proper measure of direction of the corresponding lower units of the trade-unions. The local party workers are ordered no longer to command, or resort to methods amounting practically to appointment, to gain places in the elective bodies of the trade-unions. They must become leaders by example and by gaining real standing among the non-party members. The quarters of the Factory Committee are always independent of those of the Communist or Komsomol cell, although the latter's room may adjoin that of the trade-union center. The rôle of leadership by the Communists is not supposed to reduce the trade-union body to the status of a mere agency of the party. However, the "Communist line" must prevail in the activities of the trade-unions. The outstanding leader of the movement, the president of the All-Union Central Soviet of Trade-Unions, is one of the nine members of the Political Bureau of the party.

In the appointive Soviet bodies which are concerned primarily with economic policies and problems the trade-unions as such are assigned a specific number of seats. On the Supreme Soviet of National Economy and the State Planning Committee with their local branches, the All-Union Central Soviet of Trade-Unions and its local units are represented. In the selection of the People's Commissary of Labor, by the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, the trade-unions are consulted. It is sometimes stated that the trade-unions in fact elect this particular commissary.

The present relationship of the trade-unions to the Soviet government is difficult to define. In the earlier period the trade-unions were

very clearly an integral part of the governmental structure. Then there came a tendency to insist on the independence of the trade-unions with respect to the government, while at the same time emphasizing the rôle of the trade-unions in determining the policies and also the personnel of the "government of workmen and peasants." To workmen, the powers of the trade-unions within and with respect to governmental bodies and authorities are strongly emphasized. The workmen are being constantly told that through their trade-unions they continue to control the governmental authorities which they elected through the Soviets.

The Communist party guarantees a constant and close relationship between government and trade-unions. Being the leading, controlling element in each, the party co-ordinates the activities of both. The party resolutions are obligatory instructions for the Communist fractions in a Soviet, and the members of such a fraction are at the same time members of a trade-union, generally of the trade-union committee corresponding to the particular Soviet authority. The most concrete expression of the participation of the trade-unions in the administration of state economic enterprises is found in the procedure of selection of the managers or directors of the latter. The trade-union nominates candidates for these positions, although the actual appointment is made by the Supreme Soviet of National Economy, the members of which are appointed by the Council of Peoples' Commissaries. The power of nomination gives to the trade-unions a measure of control over the management; the trade-union can generally secure the dismissal of a manager if it is unable to co-operate with him. The manager, as has been noted, is always also a member of the trade-union, and accordingly is directly subject to the trade-union authorities.

The trade-union exercises further powers over management through the collective agreement on conditions of work and wages. Collective bargaining has been introduced for the overwhelming majority of wage-earners. Theoretically it is obligatory, and in time will become in fact universal. The tariffs of wages for various fields of industry and categories of workers are fixed by the governmental bodies mentioned above in which the trade-unions are represented. For each specific enterprise a collective agreement, covering all wage-earners, is signed by the trade-union with the management. Individual workmen must bring their complaints to the trade-unions and not directly to the management, and the management takes its complaints to the trade-union. The collective agreement is supposed to be discussed

in detail at a general meeting of the factory or local committee. The constant injunction that this procedure must be observed would indicate that it is a frequent practice for the committee to settle the matter on its own authority. The party cell has an independent and important function of leadership in this matter. The so-called "triangle" of management, factory committee, and party cell is believed to insure protection of the interests of the wage-earner and also the actual participation of the latter in the determining of conditions of work, without reducing efficiency in management. The proper balance is secured by the influence of the party. It is the function of the party to reconcile the interests of the wage-earners and those of the management.

Appraisement-Conflict Commissions supervise the carrying-out of the collective agreements and settle all misunderstandings or conflicts that arise. There is such a body for every enterprise or institution, and it is composed of an equal number of representatives of the management and of the factory or local committee. The decisions of these commissions are final unless there has been clear violation of the law, in which case the decision is suspended by the People's Commissariat of Labor and there is a rehearing before an arbitration board in which both parties are equally represented, and in which the chairman, having a vote, is appointed by the People's Commissariat of Labor. Where agreement cannot be reached in the commission, the dispute is settled by another kind of board, also appointed by the commissariat, in which the chairman has no vote but must bring the two equally represented sides to agreement.

Theoretically the trade-unions have the right to organize, declare, and conduct strikes, in state enterprises as well as in private enterprises. In the case of private enterprises, there have been several strikes of small proportion and short duration during the last years. Strikes in state enterprises are considered inexpedient, and in fact unnecessary, in view of the other powers of influence and even coercion which the trade-unions possess to force the management to observe the labor laws and the terms of the collective agreement signed by the representatives of the workmen and employees.

General conditions of work and policy of management of a given enterprise are also subject to discussion and a measure of control, through the Production Commissions and the more recently instituted Production Conferences. Production Commissions are one of several commissions of a factory or local committee. They are expected to follow in a general way the working of the enterprise and to report

suggestions for improvements of a technical or general character. The inactivity of these commissions lead to the introduction of larger conferences, to discuss the conditions and problems of production. The conferences are open to all workmen and employees of the given enterprise, and the management and technical staffs are urged to attend. The percentage of participation in these conferences has not been large, and recently a campaign was started by the trade-unions to give to these conferences more importance and authority and thus secure a larger attendance of workmen. Party members were instructed to give attention to this new effort to bring the workmen into the discussion of the problems of production, and a considerable percentage of the attendance at these conferences was Communist. Also, prominent leaders, such as Rykov, addressed several Production Conferences of larger, more important institutions.

These Production Conferences are not given any actual powers; their resolutions are not obligatory on the management, although the latter is supposed to give careful attention to the facts brought out in the course of the discussion, to participate in such, and to answer questions. There has been much criticism of the actual working out of this idea, and modification in the character of these conferences has been urged. It was found that often they took such general lines in their discussions as to be quite fruitless. At one conference it was resolved that an entirely new factory should be built, and the workmen expressed disappointment that the management did not come forward and express itself on this question. As Tomsky, the head of the trade-union movement, has remarked, the subjects of discussion were too general. He called attention to one conference where American technical methods were described and discussed while the leaky roof under which the conference was sitting allowed water to drop on the noses of the speakers, and to the fact that to reach the conference one had to stumble over a pile of rubbish which had been lying in the factory yard for months. These conferences have, however, brought a considerable number of workmen into businesslike discussion of concrete problems of production and management. Many useful suggestions have come out from them, it is claimed; and in many instances the workmen have seen their suggestions carried out. This is not always the case, however. Although the managers cannot be hostile, often their attitude toward these conferences is at best one of benevolent neutrality; the conferences are considered as little more than useful safety valves, and the manager makes no effort to co-operate. Then the attendance falls off, as the workmen see no concrete results from

the discussions or find that the meetings are taken up merely with reports on abstract subjects such as the industrialization of the country. One has the impression that the technical experts are not convinced of the real usefulness of these conferences, and accordingly they do not actively participate in them.

However, the Production Conferences represent another instrumentality by which the workmen and employees may influence, and in a measure control, the conditions of work, and even the general policies of management in the institution in which they are employed. The actual degree of effective influence or control that results cannot be determined. It would seem, however, that workmen and employees, at least the trade-union active elements of such, feel that they are exerting a real influence and a certain amount of control through these conferences. The same can be said of the trade-unions in general, of the Factory Committees, the local and central organs, of the representation of the trade-unions in administrative bodies, and of their collective agreements. Broad and effective participation in trade-union activity supplies a particularly important field of Soviet civic training.

Cultural-educational work is considered a feature of the Soviet trade-union activities and one of the greatest gains for the workmen from the Revolution. Office workers also are reached by the "cult-work," to use the current abbreviation met at every turn in the discussion of the institutions connected with the trade-union movement. This work along educational and general cultural lines contributes to the training of the members for more effective realization of the trade-union functions outlined above. It has the more general aim of raising the general cultural level of the workman class, particularly by helping it to use profitably the hours of leisure. By its programs and methods this educational work, which is under Communist leadership and must take the "Communist line," makes the trade-unions a school of Communism in the literal sense of the term.

Before the Revolution cultural-educational work among workmen was carried out almost exclusively by periodicals and pamphlets. These were limited in their scope and reach because of the general weakness of workmen's organizations under the political conditions of the old order. There were a few so-called "workmen's clubs" before the Revolution, but they were quite independent of the trade-unions of that period. These activities dated from the first revolution of 1905, and survived for a time the period of reaction which followed. From 1910 on, the conditions for publications for workmen became even

more difficult. Censorship and administrative measures of repression were made more severe and extensive when the war came in 1914. During the period of the February revolution, that is, the summer of 1917, cultural-educational work of trade-unions was limited to the publication of periodicals and to the organization of incidental lectures or concerts. This was the period of the free development of organization among workmen, but also of the struggle between the various socialist parties for the control of the organization. The relations between the Soviet and trade-unions had not been worked out, and it was to this problem that the leaders were giving most of their attention.

During the first years of the Soviet régime educational work received comparatively little attention from the trade-unions; all efforts were concentrated on the immediate task of the struggle for power into which the trade-unions were drawn. Workmen's newspapers emphasized agitation, being small in size and meager in content. Workmen's Clubs became centers of mobilization for the "shock" tasks of actual fighting, or of throwing all forces to a particular field of production or distribution, to meet the constant military and economic crises of these years. Meetings were organized at the clubs and in theaters and large halls. These were, in the main, mass meetings to stir up enthusiasm, the "pep-meetings" of the Revolution. Lectures also were arranged for audiences of workmen; but they were on all sorts of subjects, without relation to one another or to the immediate interests of the workmen. During these first years there was much discussion of "proletarian culture," and appeals went out on the need of organizing "proletcult" centers. These latter did not take on a mass character, however; the trade-unions participated in them, as in other state educational bodies, without themselves formally undertaking practical work of an educational or general cultural character.

From 1921 on, with the military and political victories secured, it was possible at last to take up systematically the educational and general cultural plans already outlined and discussed. With the introduction of the New Economic Policy, it became necessary to develop channels through which the new policy could be explained to the workmen, in order to keep alive in them faith in the principles of the Revolution despite the concessions to capitalistic principles. The New Economic Policy brought new principles of organization for the trade-unions, which required a broader educational activity. Thus the so-called "cult-work" of the trade-unions began on an extensive scale only from 1921 on.

At first many of the workers took a skeptical and almost sneering attitude as the trade-union leaders put cultural and educational work in the foreground. But soon every factory or local committee had, among its commissions, a so-called "cult-commission," and there were cult-sections or cult-commissions in all provincial committees and in all inter-union bodies of the movement. The fourth congress of trade-unions in 1922 passed the following resolution:

> Trade-unions should give particular attention to the cultural-educational commissions of local factories or institutions, considering them their own primary mass cells and the source and base of the lively initiative and activity of the toiling masses.

Cult-work became not only the means for spreading professional, political, and cultural knowledge, but also in general a powerful instrument for the organization of the workman mass around the trade-unions. Workmen's Clubs gradually came under the direction of the trade-unions. The fifth congress of the latter pointed out that

> the center of the trade-union cultural-educational activity must become the club of factory workmen (Trade Union Club), which in turn must be not only the hearth of proletarian education and of the propaganda of the class struggle but also the place of relaxation for the workman after the day's work.

Thus "proletcult" was to be developed into a mass movement, from small studios and circles. The All-Union congress of trade unions recorded this fact and pointed out that

> the cultural work of the trade-unions must strive to unite around the unions the broad masses of the workmen on the basis of an all-sided satisfying of their spiritual demands, and by means of a broad, class educational program provide them with sensible and healthy relaxation and amusement, which will protect the workmen from demoralizing, petty-bourgeois influences.

In outline the cultural-educational work is carried on by the following agencies and methods. The primary cult-commission in every factory or local committee is responsible to the latter for all cultural activity among the workmen of the given enterprise or territorial unit. It sees that questions such as the struggle with illiteracy or the procedure for admission to schools are discussed at general meetings or at delegates' conferences. Cult-commissions co-operate with, and exercise a certain amount of trade-union control over, the special technical schools or courses organized in factories or enterprises. This more strictly educational work is administered by the Section on

Professional Education of the Commissariat of Education. However, the extent of such training courses in any particular enterprise is often determined as part of the collective agreement negotiated and sanctioned by the trade-union. It is the duty of the cult-commission to see that this point is given proper attention during the negotiations and in the agreement. Similarly, cult-commissions co-operate with other sections of the Commissariat of Education, such as the Social Training Section or the Political Education Section, in promoting and organizing general educational courses for adult workmen or schools of "political grammar."

Every grade in the trade-union hierarchy co-ordinates the work of these primary cult-commissions. It is through the Workmen's Club and the Red Corner that the various grades of cult-commissions do the more practical work. The club especially is the center of the political training; its whole life is to be "saturated with political and professional content," according to the resolution of the fifth trade-union congress. The Red Corner is the primary cell for a club, and is to be found generally in the smaller enterprises or institutions, in workmen's dormitories, or in the separate shops of large factories. One of the objects of the Red Corner is to recruit members to clubs. It is also a substitute for the club where such is not available. The mass activities of the club, to be noted presently, may be carried on by a Red Corner, while the work of circles cannot be organized around the latter. Newspapers and other current reading material are supplied at these primary cells. There is no formality of membership, and the cult-commission of the factory or local committee is responsible for its equipment and maintenance. On January, 1925, the number of these Red Corners was some 8,000; by the end of 1926 the number had increased to over 20,000; and by 1928, to over 40,000.

There were approximately 3,500 clubs in 1925. Of these, 1,400 (in round numbers) were factory clubs; a large factory had a club of its own. About 900 were so-called "group clubs"; the single club served several factories situated in the same neighborhood. Then there were about 1,200 so-called "inter-union clubs," which were organized for members of all of the trade-unions, so that workmen, office workers, or teachers would be served by the same club. In Moscow there were a few separate clubs for the unions of Soviet Employees and Workers in Education. The total membership of these clubs was over 900,000 in 1925, and the increase in membership since that date has been very small.

Membership in the club is voluntary and individual. It is not nec-

essary to be a member of a trade-union to belong to the club, although probably few members of clubs are not also members of a trade-union. Membership in a club presumably means a more active political and class consciousness than does membership in a trade-union. Club dues are small, and all club activity is voluntary. Many of the factory clubs have been given the use of the residence of the former owner of the factory. It was very usual for the owner to live in the close neighborhood of his establishment. Here the workmen can be shown a concrete conquest of the Revolution. Former restaurants have also been converted into clubs. These buildings, especially the restaurants, were suitable to the purposes of a club, and large gatherings can be held in the big salons, although there is general complaint that the club quarters are becoming inadequate, as they are being used more and more for all sorts of general meetings. The club quarters are generally simply but adequately furnished and are always well supplied with posters. As compared with the living quarters of the workmen, they represent something infinitely better and cleaner, although to the visitor they give an impression of drabness. They are also more attractive than the beer halls with which, as we shall see, they are in active competition.

The club membership elects its own officers and committees, although there is provision for a certain supervision of candidates and of the procedure of elections by the "cult-commission" of the trade-union authority having jurisdiction over the area covered by the particular club. The club authorities must follow the plan prepared for them by the cult-commission. The budget of a club is also confirmed by the cult-commission, which secures support for the club activities from the general funds of the trade-union. However, the cult-commission may not alter the plan or budget adopted until after the fixed term at the end of which the club authorities must report. Thus the membership does in reality run the club and its activities. The cult-commission is expected constantly to co-operate with the club, by keeping it in touch with the problems of the particular enterprise or group of factories. It also furnishes material of educational and recreational character. Much of the activity of the clubs of Moscow, for example, depends on the assistance furnished by the Cult-Section of the Moscow City Soviet of Trade-Unions, an inter-union organization which supplies speakers, films, excursion programs and leaders, and literature. In the collective bargains between trade-union and management, provision is always made for the payment of a percentage on the aggregate of the wages, which goes to the support of cultural-

educational work. Thus the clubs are not supported from the membership dues, and the latter can be and are very low, as has already been noted.

Club activities fall into two main groups: mass activities and the work of circles. Mass activities aim to bring in the entire membership, on occasions including their families. There is, for example, participation in various political or professional campaigns, with preliminary lectures and discussions on the purposes of these campaigns. In this way professional and political propaganda on a mass scale is carried on. In addition, lectures on general subjects are staged. Lectures are varied by evenings of "Questions and Answers," or followed and lightened by moving pictures. The films shown in Workmen's Clubs are generally educational in character. A whole series of these have been prepared by a government department and are available to clubs at a nominal charge. Dramatic performances, concerts, and the "living newspaper" are included in the programs which are made up for each month and posted at the entrance. There will be from time to time exhibitions of posters and diagrams showing the work of the various circles of the club to the mass membership.

The entertainments are educational in character for the most part. Purely recreational Club Evenings are also held; but these also have an educational aspect; "purposefulness" almost always is present. A revolutionary event or a particular revolutionary hero will be taken as the theme for a dramatic or musical entertainment. Where the living newspaper has departed from its main purpose of presenting topics of the day, and has worked up skits which, though amusing and artistic, have no clear purpose or slogan at their basis, its organizers have been severely criticized. Excursions to museums, suburbs, or villages constitute another of the mass activities of a club. The use of these excursions for political propaganda and training will be discussed as a subject in itself, for this method of civic training is employed extensively for all ages and various classes.

Clubs maintain libraries of their own with reading-rooms, or act as local distributors for the large central libraries. Here the pamphlet and periodical literature, as well as the larger books, are made available. Purely literary and technical journals and books are not prominent on the tables of the reading-rooms of clubs; most of the literature noted was of a political and propaganda character. The librarian is assisted in the general development and handling of the library and reading-room by the Circle of Book-lovers, which prepares bibliographical lists on various subjects for the members of the club,

and organizes special Book Evenings. For each of the now fixed, most important revolutionary holidays this circle posts a list of books dealing with the event or achievement to be celebrated. Information bureaus are also to be found in many of the clubs, where members can secure legal advice on such matters as employment, housing or education. Experts in these fields hold regular office hours at the bureaus, this counting as part of their civic activity where there is the obligation to give a certain number of hours per week to some sort of public work.

Some clubs run simple buffets, which do not sell alcoholic drinks, however; the prices at these buffets are lower than at the public eating-houses or beer halls. In the buffet and lounging-rooms the games of checkers and chess are permitted. Card games, which would bring in the element of gain, are forbidden. There has been much discussion of the question of dancing in the clubs. Until recently dancing was frowned upon and practically forbidden. The modern dances had been condemned as "bourgeois," immoral, and erotic. The club quarters were not adapted to dancing, as the floors were unsuitable and dusty, it was sometimes explained; also, when dancing had been permitted, the young people had carried on into the early morning hours, and general carousals and individual excesses had developed. Recently, however, in an effort to make the clubs more attractive and the atmosphere less dull and oppressive, several trade-union leaders have denied that they had opposed dancing. But group or square dances have been recommended, as opposed to the Charleston and the tango. An effort to devise a "proletarian" dance step was recently attempted, this new step to be athletic in character, so as to promote physical development.

Circles of a club represent the fruits of its mass activities. They are organized to satisfy the requirements of those members in whom the mass activities aroused a deeper interest in a particular subject. The circles are not supposed to be of the character of a seminar however; the conditions of equipment and time exclude such a development of the circle idea, and tendencies to give to the circles of a club a formal, educational character are discouraged. The circles do not try to compete with Workmen's Faculties, Workmen's Universities, or other special instructional courses organized for workmen. The circles are supposed to come from the initiative of the more active members; zealous efforts of the club management to introduce from above are frowned down on, although the management is expected to give every possible encouragement to the circles.

The circles meet regularly and in some instances as frequently as three or four evenings a week. Each circle has its leader, who is simply an older comrade with a wider experience and training in a particular line. Leadership of a circle often is the civic activity which a given individual is under obligation to engage in as a member of the party or as a student or graduate of a higher educational institution. In other instances the leader receives remuneration for his professional services. The circle elects also an "elder," who represents the needs of the circle to the management of the club. The elders of the various circles are organized in a Soviet of Elders. Through this body the circle's activities are co-ordinated with the mass activities of the club. Often the work of the circles aims primarily to serve a mass activity. Thus the Art Circle will prepare the banners and floats for the club's participation in a holiday or celebration. The elder also is responsible for the execution of the plan of work which has been adopted by the membership of the circle and approved by the management of the club. Under this program the members of the circle must accept the assignment of tasks made by the elder. Attendance must be regular, and a secretary keeps a record of attendance and of the activities of the circle.

Art circles also illustrate well a general characteristic of the club circles in general. The principle of collectivism is always emphasized; these circles, like those for singing or instrumental music, are not intended to serve the needs of the individual member who wishes to perfect himself in a particular line. The work of circles is supposed to be exclusively of a mass character. Thus the aim of the circle may be simply to help its members to understand and appreciate music, without their participating in an orchestra or choir.

Many of the more important of the circles have already been named in the outline of the mass activities of the club and of the methods of organization of a circle. Until recently there was the tendency on the part of the club management to conventionalize the fields of activity of the circles. The list of circles was prepared, and members desiring to form circles had to keep within the list. The enforcement of the Communist line and propaganda aims were primary considerations in the preparation of these lists. "Political grammar" was put in the foreground, and every circle had to show a relation to this subject. The club and its circles became a kind of miniature political-educational institution. A slackening of interest in the clubs in general, and particularly in the circles, led to a broadening of the interests of circles. There are four main fields at present: The first is

still politics, and the circles continue to be one of the important instruments of political education. The second line is the trade-union movement, where the members of the circles discuss professional grammar, that is, the principles and structure of the professional or trade unions. The third main line of interest recommended to circles is the general question of production. The fourth group of circles is based on an interest in art, music, literature, radio, athletics, and sports. It is in this last group that the widest latitude is now recommended to club managements.

Despite this change of policy, the most important circles of any given club still are those that fall within the first group. Sometimes they are called "circles of social sciences"; the more usual name is "circles of political grammar." The programs prepared for these are very similar to the programs of the special schools of political grammar, and will be discussed with the latter. The basic aims of these circles is to "help form a proper Communistic attitude toward all social and political events, on a world-scale as well as in the Soviet Republic." A Circle for the Study of Marxism is a continuation of the more elementary political grammar circle. Here the members go more deeply into the theory of Marxism and "dialectic materialism." These circles exercise indirectly a measure of control over the other circles when the activities of the latter reach into the field of politics. For example, political posters and banners prepared by the art circles will often be based on the suggestions of these circles.

Physical-culture circles are important features of club activities. There are special athletic clubs in the larger cities, which are also under the auspices of the trade-unions. One of the conquests credited to the Revolution is the development of athletics and sports among the masses, while before they were found only in the upper and middle classes. The general question of physical-culture training will be discussed here in connection with the activities of the Soviet trade-unions. It should be noted that sports and athletics have been assigned an important place in the programs of training in the Red army and are included in the activities of the Komsomol and the Pioneers and in the schools and universities.

In physical-culture training and sports there has been the usual emphasis on organization, direction, and purposefulness. One finds mention of a Supreme Soviet of Physical Culture, with its local Soviets, although no description of its structure and functioning has been noted. There is also a State University of Physical Culture, the rector of which has written extensively on the aims and characteristics

of "Soviet" sports and athletics as compared with those of a bourgeois order of society. Certain special features are claimed for the methods of physical culture adopted, although there has been extensive borrowing from different systems of other countries. Thus, physical exercise, as part of Communist training, must be economical and useful from the social point of view. Physical culture is to supplement the Labor Code in giving the maximum of protection to the health of the toiler. It is also one of the effective means for the scientific organization of labor, of which there is much discussion and for which several institutions have been established. Mere gymnastics, without a practical purpose, are considered a futile expenditure of time and energy, at the same time representing selfish individualism. Physical training of toilers must include the manifestation of class interest; the inherited reflex of defense and attack must be closely tied up with the class struggle, for example. The rector of the State University of Physical Culture mentioned above has summarized the Soviet methods in this field as

> seeking for physical movement socially useful, with a purposeful setting, a vital meaning, a class character, useful from the hygienic and pedagogic viewpoints, accessible to all, and involving the minimum expenditure of time and energy for the attainment of the maximum all-round development.

In Soviet sports and games the emphasis is on normal and collective competition as opposed to record-making. It is believed that the latter is the main feature of "bourgeois" sports, developing narrow specialization, harmful professionalism, and vanity. Group competition, as opposed to individual competition, is therefore stressed, and contests are organized on this basis; although the "singles" in tennis are still played and there are other contests in which the individual may be the winner. But the aim is to "train and educate not only a well-rounded, healthy member of society capable of work, but also a communistically, full-value collective," to quote again from the same authority. The use of prizes and medals is discouraged even among the younger people, and the element of competition is provided for by having the victory go to a group—to a team of high jumpers, for example. Thus competition and rivalry are not excluded in Soviet sports; it is recognized that they help to develop the physical and intellectual qualities in the player. Competition and rivalry are needed for "control," and particularly for "self-control," it is explained, and can be so organized as not to prevent the development of the spirit of solidarity in support of common interests.

National games, sports, and dances are used in the development of physical culture, especially among the more backward racial minorities. Many of these games and sports are physically and also morally harmful, like the fights between villages. These are to be eliminated gradually by explaining how useless and even harmful they are, and by substituting athletic contests and more constructive sports. Dancing is to be used as part of physical training, as it is the expression of the sense of rhythm inherent in man. Most of the national dances of Russia are group dances. The older ballroom dances, particularly the square dances, are also promoted as useful. But the so-called "modern" dances are positively opposed as lacking in naturalness and rhythm of movement. One should note also the greater attention to the physical training of the dramatic artists in some of the new tendencies of the Soviet stage. The extent to which these Soviet principles of physical culture have been actually carried out cannot be determined. In addition to the several athletic clubs which the writer visited, there were constant evidences in the parks of the capitals and even in smaller towns and villages of the development of athletic activity and sports.

In the clubs Communists and Komsomol members are not set apart as such from non-party members. There are not, as a rule, Communist or Komsomol cells in the clubs, for example. But the Communist members of the managing board form the Communist fraction which is responsible to the cell of the factory served by the club or of the party authority for the district covered by the club. Generally the presidents of the managing board are Communists, and often they receive instructions from the party authority, although such procedure is considered irregular and is opposed actively by the trade-union authorities. The Communists and Young Communists are expected to be the most active members, the leaders in organization and activities, particularly in the circles of political grammar and the Marxist circles, many of which are confined largely to party members. As pointed out above, Communists or Komsomol members may fulfil their party obligation of civic activity by rendering specific service to the club, in the form of lectures or leadership of circles, for example.

But the clubs are non-party, mass organizations, like the trade-unions; and the responsible leaders of the latter strive to guarantee genuinely free initiative to the non-party workmen. At the fourteenth congress of the party Tomsky suggested that too often in the Communist leadership of the activities of a club there was the attempt "to establish administrative, managerial, financial and every other kind

of tutelage over the club." Party organizations are instructed not to weaken their leadership of club activity, but at the same time they are warned against the practice of petty interference. The fourteenth congress of the party resolved that party members must be active in club work and

> exercise their Communist influence on the ideological and general organizational setting of club work, showing, however, the greatest tact and consideration toward the non-party members of the club and toward the managing board elected by them, pushing non-party workmen forward into the work of the club, giving every possible help to the managing board in its work, without usurping its rights and powers.

The clubs and their circles are open to young people above the age of sixteen. Thus the youngest element of the workman class is admitted to the club activities. In fact, the younger element has been the more prominent in the membership of the clubs, to the exclusion of the older workmen and workers. By their youthful hilarity and boisterousness the young people have tended to monopolize the club quarters, and in some clubs "hooliganism" has been rampant. At one time special clubs were organized for young people, as part of the Komsomol movement. These were discontinued, however, for it was desired that the young workmen be brought into close association with the older workmen. The older workmen were expected to pass on to the young the proletarian consciousness they had acquired by participation in "underground" activity before the Revolution and in the active struggle of the first years of the Revolution. It has been difficult, however, to make the activities of the club attractive to members of such widely different ages. Youth sections are now being organized which will segregate somewhat the young boys and girls and leave the club's quarters available to the kind of activity that will appeal to the older workmen. Family Evenings are introduced to bring the wives into the life of the club. Provision is made for the care of the children while the parents listen to lectures or concerts. Some clubs provide a permanent Children's Corner for this purpose.

Also, the element of political education and of propaganda is being somewhat less emphasized in the programs for club meetings and entertainments, in the effort to attract more workmen, and particularly the older workmen, to join or drop in at the club. The constant drumming on revolutionary themes and slogans has been recognized as one of the causes for the marked slackening of interest in the club meetings and entertainments. In a recent discussion of the problem of the clubs it was reported that the organization of a series of lectures

caused the workmen to grumble: "More agitation; they do not let us rest or eat." As a result, the club has been losing out in the competition with the beer halls. It has not been a place of relaxation; and the older workmen have preferred the beer hall, and the younger workmen the movie or the street. Another institution with which the club is expected to compete is the church. The efforts to bring the older workmen with their families into the life of the club have in mind, in part, to give them a substitute for the church services, particularly on religious holidays. But the demonstrative antireligious activities which the young people have staged in and around the club have undoubtedly been one of the factors that kept the older element from coming to the club.

In the rest homes, sanatoria, and hospitals for workmen and employees, the trade-unions also carry on a certain amount of informal cultural-educational work, supplying literature and arranging public lectures, concerts, and other entertainments. "Political grammar" and "trade-union grammar" are the subject matter of much of this literature and many of the lectures. The writer was impressed by the large percentage of political-education titles in the literature on the tables of the reading-rooms of these institutions.

There will be further reference to the educational and cultural work of the Soviet trade-unions in subsequent chapters. In this cult-work, although the clubs have been one of the chief centers,—one of the "arsenals of the cultural revolution"—they have had a comparatively narrow reach. The work also has been of rather limited content and has not been able to satisfy the demands of the workmen. The mass activities have been poorly organized, the political campaigns resembling each other like two drops of water, as one trade-union leader has remarked. In general the cult-work has followed a conventionalized program, plans of work being "terrifyingly" similar; and the demands of the workmen for general education have not been reflected in these plans. The circles have tended to monopolize the quarters of the club, and for the mass of the members there has been little concrete evidence of their activities. The cultural revolution is in its first stages, it is explained; and the plans for retraining along new lines are very definite and far-reaching.

In their other basic functions, and as "a school of Communism" in the more general sense, the Soviet trade-unions claim a larger measure of success. On the occasion of the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the institution of the All-Union Central Soviet of Trade-Unions the rôle of the trade-unions in the Soviet order was sum-

marized. Every field of the economic activity of the Soviet authority has been given the closest attention by the trade-unions.

The trade-unions, working under the leadership of the vanguard of the workman class, the Communist party, and being the direct collaborator of the Soviet government, have participated on the widest scale and effectively in the work of socialist construction, and have brought the mass of the workmen into active participation in this work, and always without forgetting for a moment their work in connection with the needs and demands of the workman class.

In this summary of the character and functions of the Soviet trade-unions there was also reference to their international aspect. "The Trade-Unions of the Soviet Union Represent a Detachment of the World Proletarian Revolution," was the title of one article. The Soviet trade-union movement was in fact the founder of the Red Trade-Union International. This side of the activities of the Soviet trade-unions will be discussed in a concluding chapter on the international aspect of Sovietism.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SOVIET CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

In the writings of the last years of his life Lenin touched most frequently on the question of the co-operative societies. These societies had been in many respects a bone of contention between opposing political parties in pre-revolutionary Russia and in the first years of the Revolution. The attitude of the Communists toward the older co-operative movement had been hostile, or at best contemptuous; it was to their view a petty-bourgeois movement. Integral Communism of the first years of the Revolution had come to use the word "co-operative" and also the framework of a pre-revolutionary movement, but in so doing had altered completely its basic principles. Then with the New Economic Policy came a new policy of favoring co-operative organizations based on the recognition of the principles of voluntary membership, freedom of organization, and independence. A new slogan, one of the last which Lenin was to formulate, read: "Soviets plus Co-operation equals Communism." The co-operative societies and organizations were proclaimed to represent one of the socialistic elements in the economic life of the country, competing with private enterprise and particularly with private trade. Membership in co-operatives therefore was to mean participation in the class struggle, that is, civic activity in the Communist sense. Finally, activity in the co-operatives became training for Soviet citizenship, being conscious participation in the building of the new socialistic order.

The co-operative movement in Russia has a long and important history. It started in the sixties of the last century, under the influence of the emancipation of the serfs in 1861 and also of Western European co-operative ideas and efforts. The co-operative movement made but slow progress up to the revolution of 1905, however. In the Russian village system of land tenure there was the element of co-operation. Laws and fiscal policies were one of the factors which made a communal system of land tenure continue among the Russian peasants into the twentieth century, but the Russian *mir*, or commune, developed habits of co-operation. There were also the interesting *artels* or groups of producers or wage-earners organized on a co-operative basis.

After the revolution of 1905 the government set out to break up the old communal system of land tenure and to promote individualistic tenure among the peasants. The political as well as the economic considerations which were behind this new policy were clear; it was believed that individual proprietorship would make the peasant more conservative and would lessen the possibility of further agrarian disorders and land seizures which had marked the revolutionary year. As part of this new agrarian policy the government not only allowed but encouraged and assisted the development of the co-operative movement, particularly in the field of credit. Despite the political reaction of the period following the revolution of 1905, the co-operative movement had a remarkably rapid growth. It was particularly the peasants who were "dividing out" from their communes who supported the co-operatives, for these helped them establish their new homesteads. But the peasantry as a whole was reached by the co-operative movement. By 1914, co-operatives had become one of the features of Russian rural life; and in the cities among workmen, co-operative societies also had begun to appear. Party workers, of the various socialist parties, who had tried to organize the peasantry during the revolutionary year of 1905, had thrown themselves into the rural co-operative movement. The movement among workmen also furnished a field of activity for party leaders and a substitute for the trade-union movement which the reaction following the revolution had disrupted. The representatives of the more moderate socialist parties, of the Socialistic Revolutionary party, and of the Menshevik faction of the Social Democrats, as opposed to the Bolshevik faction, were particularly active in this co-operative movement. Undoubtedly they saw the possibility of using the co-operative organizations for political activity at some later date, for these furnished a basis of leadership among the broader masses of the population.

War conditions, from 1914 on, brought a further growth of the co-operative movement. The public organizations such as the Unions of Provincial Councils (Zemstvo) and of Municipal Councils used the co-operative societies extensively in their work of organizing relief and supplies for the front. The co-operative leaders were not permitted to establish organizing centers, corresponding to those of the above mentioned Unions; but the leaders of the latter, enjoying greater freedom as representatives of the ruling propertied classes, gave a measure of protection to the co-operative workers. All these public organizations proved to be part of the movement against the existing political order, which was to culminate in the revolution of February,

1917. During the war the co-operative movement became a truly mass movement. By February, 1917, there were some 40,000 co-operative societies of various types, with a membership of about 15,000,000. As each member represented a household, the movement had come to embrace a considerable percentage of the population.

The revolution of February, 1917, frankly brought the co-operative movement into political activity; the politics of the Revolution influenced the co-operative movement as they influenced all life. The co-operative movement now had complete freedom of action in the new revolutionary conditions and could define itself. An All-Russian congress representing the various branches of the movement set up the All-Russian Soviet of Co-operative Congresses. The congress decided that the co-operative movement could not remain non-political in character. It was voted to participate in the new institutions which had sprung up with the Revolution, the Soviets, to spread the Soviet movement to the peasants, and to take part in the coming elections for the Constituent Assembly with its own candidates. The co-operative movement was to remain neutral in the matter of party affiliations, although a large percentage of the co-operative leaders belonged to the Socialist Revolutionary party, which had always claimed the political leadership of the peasantry. As most of the co-operative leaders had thrown themselves into the party struggle which was developing around the Soviets and in preparation for the Constituent Assembly, this resolution to remain non-partisan was soon forgotten.

Workmen's co-operatives, as opposed to the general co-operative movement, which was primarily a village, peasant movement, also held a congress, which represented one hundred and twenty-four co-operative organizations with a membership of something over a half-million. This congress voted to form an "ideological center" with the larger unit already organized, but to maintain a separate, independent workmen's co-operative movement in order to strengthen the class consciousness of the proletariat as opposed to the "petty-bourgeois" tendencies in the general co-operative movement. Here in this decision one has the beginning of the contest between political tendencies and parties for the control of the co-operative movement. The latter came more and more into politics, to the neglect of the important economic tasks which it undertook in the food-supply crisis of the period. At the Democratic Conference of August, 1917, the co-operatives were assigned a large block of seats. The political differences between the all-class co-operative movement and the workman co-operative move-

ment became more marked, and finally led to a complete separation of the two organizations.

In the open conflict that now developed between the two ideas of Constituent Assembly and the Soviets, the all-class co-operative movement committed itself to the former, as an all-class institution. This decision was taken on the eve of the October revolution and contributed to the attitude of opposition to the latter which was taken by the co-operative leaders. The latter also saw in the economic program of the party responsible to the October revolution a menace to their own ideas and even to their very existence. In fact, at first the Soviet decree on the nationalization of banks was extended to the largest co-operative banking institution, the Moscow People's Bank.

The policy adopted at first by the Soviet government toward the all-class co-operative movement was one of watchful waiting, although it was known that the co-operative leaders were hostile to the new authority. The co-operative leaders claimed political neutrality for their organization, and therefore economic independence. The Moscow People's Bank was denationalized. The Soviet of Co-operative Congresses was allowed to continue and hold its congresses through the years 1918 and 1919; it was allowed even to undertake a measure of educational work. As a mass institution the co-operative movement was not destroyed, together with the other institutions of the old order, although the Communist at this time did not show much interest in the principles of free, voluntary co-operation; this was the period of aggressive Communism introduced by force. As an institution close to the peasantry, the co-operative movement was allowed to continue under the general policy of permitting the peasants to take their own line, in order politically to neutralize them during the acute class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie in the cities.

In 1919, however, a more positive policy was adopted by the Soviet authority. The co-operative movement had been greatly weakened by the nationalization of internal trade and also by the economic crisis. Many of its most prominent leaders had been drawn into the civil war and into the hostile camp. The central directing bodies of the co-operatives contemplated voluntary self-dissolution, under the pressure of political as well as economic conditions. On the other side, the Communists were trying to extend their economic theories to the peasantry. They also had a serious problem to solve in the distribution of food products and other articles under a rationing program which theoretically was universal and all-embracing. The framework of the existing co-operatives offered, it seemed, an agency at hand that would

be used successfully to promote collectivist methods among the peasants and also to help the state control the distribution of food stuffs and all other commodities. The new policy expressed itself most concretely in the nationalization of all consumers' co-operative societies.

In its broad outlines, this nationalization led shortly to the complete and compulsory "co-operatizing" of the whole population. There was to be a single co-operative organization for each administrative unit. All consumers were to be registered as members in this single Consumers' Society. In the cities this gave to the workmen's co-operatives, which had come to be organized directly under the Soviets, the control of all co-operative associations. By the beginning of 1920 all co-operative organizations independent of the new governmentalized co-operatives were formally dissolved. The former co-operative workers continued to function in the lower units of the movement; but the central co-ordinating bodies of the movement were turned over, by appointment, to Communists. It was while this procedure of bringing the co-operatives into the comprehensive governmental apparatus was going on that the attempt was made, on the suggestion of the leaders of the Russian co-operatives abroad, to re-establish trade relations between their country and the outside world through the co-operative societies. It is probable that this first move in the direction of lifting the blockade with respect to Soviet Russia tended to hasten the process of governmentalizing the co-operatives. Credit co-operatives had been abolished. Agricultural and industrial producers' co-operatives practically did not exist. All consumers' co-operatives of all kinds, were united under a single center, the Centrosoyus, or "Central Union." These co-operatives carried on operations as directed by governmental authorities. The properties and capital of all co-operative societies had been absorbed into the public treasury. Doctrinal considerations had dictated this policy to a certain extent, but political tactics and the economic crisis were factors that led to the Sovietizing of the co-operatives under the control of Communists.

With the adoption of the New Economic Policy at the beginning of 1921 there was a corresponding new policy with respect to co-operative organizations. The New Economic Policy gave the peasants the right to dispose of their surplus products after the payment of the fixed taxes, and this implied freedom of trade. It was desired to direct this trade to collectivist methods; and with this aim in mind, it was decided to re-establish the principle of free, independent co-operation. The change in economic policy at this time also provided for private initiative in the field of production; small manufacturing en-

terprises were to be denationalized and turned over to private management, to be run commercially on the principle of profit under a concession contract. By the granting of special terms, co-operative associations were to be encouraged to take up such concessions. Finally, collectivist methods of agriculture were to be promoted through voluntary associations. The few agricultural collective enterprises which had been organized from above had proven unsuccessful on the whole, making little appeal to the peasants.

The forms of co-operation, and the measure of freedom to be allowed to the voluntary co-operative society, were defined by a whole series of new laws, some of the most important of which did not come until the end of 1923 and the beginning of 1924. A decree of May 20, 1924, is often spoken of as "the new constitution" for consumer's co-operatives, for example. And only gradually was the legislation on co-operatives made uniform, for the whole Union. The peasant co-operative societies therefore have taken more or less definite forms only within the last years, and it is only in this comparatively recent development that the co-operatives represent again a broad social movement. Also, it is only within the last years that the co-operative movement was adopted by the Communists as an important instrument for carrying out their economic policy and at the same time as a means of political organization in line with Communist and Soviet principles.

The present scope of the co-operative movement in the Soviet Union may be indicated by a few general figures. In the field of retail trade, the co-operative organizations have been steadily gaining on private enterprise. For 1923–25 the co-operative trade was classed with state trade, and these two parts of the "socialistic sector" represented over 40 per cent of the trade circle in 1923–24 and about 56 per cent in 1924–25. In 1925–26 co-operative trade alone was 42 per cent of the total internal retail trade, while state trade was 35 per cent and private trade 24 per cent. The share of private trade was to be reduced to 22 per cent for the fiscal year ending in September, 1927. The consumers' co-operatives in 1926–27 numbered approximately 27,000, with 47,000 stores and 11,000,000 members, of whom 3,000,000 were workmen. These consumers' societies supplied a considerable portion of the foodstuffs, clothing, and shoes of the workmen. There were 45,000 credit co-operatives and agricultural co-operatives of various kinds, co-operatizing about 7,000,000 peasant households. Co-operative building associations had been a very recent growth and were confined mainly to the cities. *Kustar* (household industry) co-operative associations numbered 11,000, with some 500,-

000 members. The collective agricultural commune, to which it is hoped the co-operative movement among the peasants will eventually lead, are generally included in a summary of the co-operative movement as a whole. There were over 20,000 agricultural enterprises organized on a completely collectivist basis, with over 1,000,000 members, cultivating approximately 7,000,000 acres of land. Since the date to which these figures refer, there has been a further growth, particularly in the peasant villages. Reporting at the party congress in December, 1927, Stalin estimated that agricultural co-operatives united about one-third of the total number of individual peasant households, consumers' societies supplied the village with over half of its goods, while co-operative and state trading-bodies handled almost two-thirds of the agricultural products sold by the peasants. He also noted that the collective agricultural communes supplied only 7 per cent of the agricultural products which reached the market. In a *Review of Our Forces*, published in celebration of the first of May, 1928, the spread of the co-operative movement was illustrated by the following general figures. There were 25,000,000 shareholders in co-operative societies of all types; half of the 24,000,000 individual peasant agricultural enterprises and 60 per cent of workmen and office workers have been reached, at least to the degree of a contact, by a co-operative society.

The structure of the co-operative movement follows the organization lines that have been noted for other institutions of the Soviet system; the voluntary principle is particularly stressed; and in theory at least, local initiative is the basis of the organization. For consumers' societies the minimum of 30 members is fixed. Any group of 30 citizens enjoying the Soviet suffrage rights may form a co-operative consumers' society. For other types of co-operatives there is a similar fixed minimum of membership. The law now provides for registration of the local society by a governmental authority; previously the confirmation of a local co-operative society rested with the district or provincial "union" of co-operatives, which will be defined presently. This higher authority in the movement may protest the registration of a new local society, however. There is an official type of charter for each kind of co-operative society. A primary co-operative society may be closed down and liquidated by the local Soviet authority when it fails to observe its charter or in general takes a direction contrary to state interests. As will be noted presently, a great many "false co-operatives" have been formed, which are being suppressed as fast as they are discovered.

The local primary units may form unions of district or of province, the latter co-ordinating the former. A union covering the larger area of one of the economic regions into which the Soviet Union is being redivided for administrative and other purposes may be formed only with the consent of the central authority in each branch of co-operatives, and only one such union is authorized in the given region. These regional unions represent a fixed framework into which local societies are brought. The element of indirect compulsion is present in that no independent organization by regions is permitted outside of this framework; and it is expedient, if not necessary, for local societies to come into the regional unit. The regional unions of co-operatives are also national unions when the region is an independent or autonomous unit of the Soviet Union.

The regional unions are brought together by central bodies, to which they send delegates, who elect the managing boards and the presiding officers of the boards. For the consumers' societies this central body is the Centrosoyus, or "Central Union," and the agricultural co-operatives have their Selskosoyus. Recently another set of central, co-ordinating bodies was introduced, the Soviet of Co-operative Unions. There is such a Soviet for each region, and also a central All-Union Soviet which embraces all branches of co-operation. These Soviets were proposed by the regional unions on the initiative of the Communists, and are spoken of as voluntary, as opposed to the regional unions themselves, which are the fixed framework. These Soviets correspond to the inter-union bodies of the trade-unions.

It is through these co-ordinating and central bodies that the contact between co-operatives and state manufacturing trusts, selling and buying syndicates, and credit institutions is established, although local unions of co-operatives may and often do deal directly with the given state enterprise. The representation of the co-operative movement in state economic and administrative organs is also through these central bodies. Representatives of the central bodies of the co-operatives are admitted to the sessions of the highest elective and appointive legislative and administrative organs of the Soviets, in some instances with the right to vote on questions relating to the co-operative movement. In fact, the co-operative leaders would seem to enjoy the same privileges and influence in these governmental bodies as the representatives of the trade-unions. The Communists who hold the responsible positions in the co-operative hierarchy also are members of the higher organs of the party.

The unions of co-operatives, particularly the co-ordinating re-

gional unions, have staffs of so-called "instructors," who help local groups organize, and then form district or provincial unions. These instructors also have the function of inspection, traveling from locality to locality to audit the books of the local bodies and to check up on the membership and see that the local society is not one of the false co-operatives. The instructors also assist in the preparation for, and conduct of, the yearly elections of the local units. Thus in the structure of the co-operative societies there is strong centralization on the one hand and local autonomy on the other. The principle of "democratic centralism," noted in other types of organization, also underlies the organizational structure of the co-operative societies and their unions.

All boards of all co-operative societies and unions are elective. The boards of the co-ordinating units are elected by conferences of delegates from the boards of the lower units. The system of election is indirect, as in the elections of Soviets, party committees, and trade-unions. Elections are annual, from the bottom up. At the elections of the boards of the primary units of the consumers' co-operatives, "revision commissions" are also elected, of persons who are not members of the co-operative societies. The main function of these revision commissions is to audit the books of the managing board. Members of such commissions, like members of boards who serve without salary, are exempt from taxation. The salaried clerks of a local co-operative store are generally chosen by the board from its own membership. In 1926 there were approximately 600,000 salaried employees. Just before his death, Dzerzhinsky was fighting bureaucratic methods, and, in referring to this bureaucracy of the co-operative movement, exclaimed, "Can you build socialism in this manner?" Dzerzhinsky was the leading figure in the economic field, being the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of National Economy.

More attention to the elections, propaganda by press and pamphlets, instructions to local Communists and Young Communists from their respective authorities, are some of the methods now being used to stir up the interest and activity of members and even non-members in the local co-operatives. Through the control resulting from this interest and activity it is believed that the weaknesses manifest in the movement will be eliminated. In a rural community all the "active elements" of the community are instructed by their various organizations or authorities to develop the activity of the mass membership of the co-operative societies. As a matter of course these active elements are "co-operatized."

The pre-election campaigns and the elections of the co-operatives are given a general political significance, particularly in the rural communities. The campaigns aim first of all to check on the handling of the business of the co-operative by the elected board and to bring in new members. But the political interests of the various class groups, of a peasant community, for example, are expected to come into action in the elections. The campaign is to be so conducted as to emphasize and promote the class struggle within the peasantry. In the last elections of the co-operative boards many instances of sharp conflict between the "toilers" of the village and its "bourgeois" element were reported by the Communist press. As already noted, the district and provincial unions send their instructors to help in the conduct of the pre-election campaign and the election itself. Under the leadership of these and of the local Communists and members of the Komsomol, the poor peasants, now somewhat organized in special groups by periodic conferences, are expected to fight the rich peasant and win over the middle peasant. In some respects the elections of the co-operatives are considered just as important as the Soviet elections themselves; and every effort is made by the leaders, of the party as well as of the co-operatives, to promote an active interest and participation in the yearly re-elections of the managing boards of the local societies.

The members of co-operatives enjoy certain privileges. They are the first to be supplied when there is a shortage of the particular commodity; this is a chronic situation with respect to one or another article of wide consumption. The member is granted credit, where the non-member must pay cash for all purchases. In credit co-operatives, shareholders are given lower rates and first service. In the agricultural co-operatives, only the members participate in the activity of the co-operative society; through the co-operative they are able to buy agricultural machinery, and of late even tractors, at special prices and on easy terms of payment. In fact, tractors are sold almost exclusively to co-operatives.

Because of these privileges of membership the class principle is strongly emphasized in the Soviet co-operatives. Membership in co-operative societies is now voluntary, but certain elements are not admitted in view of the advantages which members enjoy. These advantages must not be open to "hostile" classes, who would acquire also a political influence by membership in a co-operative; so all who are deprived of the suffrage are by that very fact excluded from joining a co-operative. The village trader, as well as the city merchant, is not

allowed to become a shareholder. This follows logically from the rôle which the co-operatives are given, of fighting private trade with a view to eliminating it completely in the course of the comparatively near future.

The class principle is enforced in the co-operative movement in other ways. In the cities, workmen's co-operatives have a separate organization from that of co-operatives open to all who have the suffrage right, that is, also to the toiling intelligentsia and office workers. Co-operative building societies organized by members of this so-called "toiling intelligentsia" will be granted credits less readily than corresponding societies of workmen. In the villages, the co-operative movement "takes a definite course in the direction of the poor peasant," to translate literally the cumbersome Russian expression constantly met in the discussion of the policy of the co-operatives. An analysis of membership of co-operatives always indicates the ratio of poor peasants to middle peasants, particularly in the managing boards. In order to increase the number of poor peasants actively participating as shareholders, the co-operative societies must set aside a percentage of their profits each year for a fund from which poor peasants are given co-operative shares. The rural co-operatives must also help the poor peasants by a special policy toward them in other respects. The managing boards are instructed by the central bodies to give poor peasants the contracts for hauling the supplies, for example. The prices on machinery, seeds, and stud services are reduced for poor peasants. The poor peasant is expected to give the proletarian tone to the movement among peasants. Also, through the co-operative society the alliance between poor and middle peasants will be strengthened, and the middle peasant wil be drawn more actively into the struggle against the rich peasant and the private trader.

A great many false co-operatives are organized. The local peasant trader or shopkeeper will take the initiative and secure the signature of neighbors, paying their admission dues and the cost of the shares. He will insist that he be elected chairman of the board. Until he is exposed, he can obtain goods at the reduced rates and sell at his own prices, avoiding all control from the members. Through false agricultural co-operatives similarly organized, a rich peasant has been able to get agricultural machinery which he could rent out to those whom he had helped and used to form a co-operative. Sometimes the private trader is able to use the co-operative by extending credit in the form of subscription to shares. There is wide publicity when these instances of false co-operatives are found, in order to emphasize the

principles of the Soviet co-operatives and their class character. "The Rich Peasant in the Co-operative" is the headline of columns in many newspapers, where the cases of false co-operatives are taken up and analyzed in detail so that other communities may be on their guard against these prevalent practices.

Tendencies for the workmen's co-operative movement to separate itself off from the general movement have been opposed by governmental as well as by co-operative authorities. The president of the Soviet Union, Kalinin, who is the main spokesman of peasants' interests in the government, has explained that the workman class, in spite of its hegemony, must "destroy the difference between village and city." The co-operative movement is another link between workmen and peasants. With their greater resources and better organization, the workmen's co-operatives are expected to give to the whole movement a greater strength by sharing their wider experience with the co-operative societies of the peasants.

The co-operative movement was put back on to a commercial basis when it was denationalized. The properties of the former co-operatives were turned over, and additional public buildings were transferred to them; and these represent a considerable portion of the capital of the co-operative organizations. The number of shareholders is considerable, but the shares are low. In consumers' co-operatives the admission fee is fixed at 50 kopecks (25 cents). Shares are nominally 5 rubles ($2.50) and are paid in instalments. In rural co-operatives the average paid-up share per member is 2 rubles, while in urban co-operatives the average paid-up share is around 4 rubles. These figures refer to the end of 1926; since that date the nominal price of a share has been raised, and the average of the amount paid on the share has also risen. In other types of co-operatives the nominal price of a share is somewhat higher. Before the Revolution the shares in co-operative societies averaged from 15 to 20 rubles. Peasants' deposits in co-operative credit associations totaled only 10,000,000 rubles in 1926 as compared with 150,000,000 before the war. The campaigns to increase the number of shareholders have not brought marked results to date. The co-operatives have their own bank, in which the shareholders are the co-operative unions and also a few of the primary units. The credits extended by state trusts and banks represent the largest part of the working capital of the co-operatives. Co-operative organizations are given other very substantial privileges. At state banks and credit institutions co-operatives can negotiate loans at rates of interest lower than those which the competing

private trader must pay. State trusts and syndicates must fill the orders of co-operatives before those of private dealers, quote lower prices, and give easier terms of payment. In practice the co-operatives are thus secured a monopoly of the output of certain commodities for which the demand greatly exceeds the supply. If the yearly turnover is less than 20,000 rubles, the producer's co-operative society does not pay the industrial tax. There is a marked reduction of the tax rate for all forms of co-operative societies. Individual members of boards of co-operative societies who serve without pay are exempt from all taxation. All property of the co-operative is classed as public property; theft or wilful destruction of co-operative property is punished with the heavier penalties provided by the Soviet Code concerning the "people's property."

At first the co-operatives went out for large profits, until regulation of price was introduced indirectly through the fixing of prices in state stores. The overhead costs of distribution in the consumers' co-operatives were enormous, in excess even of the overhead costs of the state system of distribution; there was inefficiency, and the embezzlement of funds was not infrequent. In general the co-operatives proved unbusinesslike and clumsy traders. Private trade acted as a corrective through competition. But the co-operative boards had developed the habit of looking to the public treasury for appropriations to cover overhead costs. Also they had to learn to trade, and this took time; private trade was given the wider freedom in the first years of the New Economic Policy in part so that the new co-operatives could learn from them by competition with them.

Prices in the co-operative stores, like those in the state stores, are lower than the prices for the same article in a private store. Yet the private stores have survived, despite all the handicaps imposed on them in the matter of rent and taxes. In the cities the customers of private stores are the toiling intelligentsia as well as the new bourgeoisie, who are willing to pay the higher price for quicker and better service and often better quality. Also, certain articles of which there is a shortage can frequently be obtained only in private stores, the owners of which may have secured the articles by indirect though legal methods, such as sending agents to buy the full quota allowed to any single purchaser from the neighboring co-operatives. Such agents can be hired, for a mere pittance, from the armies of unemployed. The private stores also handle the products of smaller, private manufacturing enterprises which produce mainly small articles of consumption.

But private stores are found also in peasant villages where the purchasers are peasants. Here also, better service and better assortment attracts the woman purchaser particularly. The co-operative store of a village has become frequently a social center where the men gather, in day time as well as in the evening. Rowdyism often shows itself in these crowds, particularly when a woman purchaser enters the store. Poor service and an unsuitable assortment of goods are features in co-operative stores. It is the hope in time to eliminate the defects in the work of the co-operatives as "the people through their own co-operatives learn to trade" and finally fulfil this precept which Lenin formulated and left as one of the tasks in the building of the new socialistic order.

In the several villages visited in 1926 it was possible to compare the co-operative store with the private store and talk with those in charge. These observations in rural communities and personal experience in buying supplies in cities showed clearly the reasons, enumerated above, for the survival of private shops. The owners of the shops were becoming more and more despondent, however. One small private trader was planning to liquidate business as soon as possible, not because of lack of customers but because of his political and social position as a private trader. As an "exploiter" he was a non-citizen, was placarded as the enemy in the small rural community, and was demonstratively denied the suffrage side by side with the priest. In the schools the private trader is held up before the children as a most despicable type, a social pariah which it is hoped soon to eliminate completely from the Soviet social order. In the literature on co-operation the terms used in referring to the private trader suggest the most literal interpretation of the class-struggle doctrine. Administrative and police officials evidently feel it a duty to make life just as hard as possible for the private trader. The sanitary regulations are applied rigidly in the private store; as one shopkeeper explained, the militia authorities always inspect for clean floors on a rainy day. Also the eight-hour day is enforced to the minute on the private trader, while the co-operative store is allowed to keep open all evening and on Sundays. The local militia authorities in one village said quite frankly that they had one policy for the private store and another policy for the co-operative enterprise. As Soviet officials and as Communists, they were fighting the class enemy. This local application of the class-struggle doctrine for the promotion of the co-operative movement is given only as an instance which came to notice in a very clear and

forceful form. It seemed to be in line with the general statements of the principles of the Soviet co-operative movement.

The co-operative movement is a matter of special concern for all the more important institutions and organizations of the Soviet order. Soviets, local and central, have their co-operative sections, whose functions are to study the policies and practices of the co-operative movement and to prepare and propose legislation. All party bodies, from cells to Central Committee, have their co-operative commissions which organize and effectuate the participation and leadership of the party in the movement. Trade-union units, and particularly the Factory Committees, also have co-operative commissions, which promote and participate in the co-operative enterprises within the factory or territorial area. The trade-unions do not directly enter the field of co-operation in their own activities. Komsomol members and Pioneers must agitate for the principle of co-operation, and assist co-operative societies in spreading their literature. Each Komsomol cell has its "co-operative organizer." In the rural districts the school teachers are expected to be of particular assistance in the organization of the local co-operatives. The local agricultural expert stationed in each canton is instructed not only to join in the general propaganda of the co-operative movement but also actively to assist in the organization, particularly of agricultural co-operatives. He is to use the co-operative societies and enterprises as the most important channels for his "agropropaganda," that is, for his work in spreading better methods of agriculture.

In the case of the party, it is a question of leadership. The party establishes its leadership of the co-operative movement through Communist fractions in all elective organs and through individual workers in the higher co-ordinating units. In the period of militant Communism the co-operative commissions of a party local committee were practically the executive boards of the one consumers' co-operatives, in which all the inhabitants of a given locality were registered. With the re-establishment of voluntary co-operation the principle of election was introduced; but it took time to break down former habits, and local party authorities continued to substitute appointment for election. The co-operative commissions of party committees now simply discuss the general policies of the movement and the methods of party leadership in it, and do not go into current practical questions of the work of the co-operatives. They must see to it that party members take an active part in the co-operative elections and must direct the Communist fractions in the elective bodies of the co-operatives.

In 1926 about 22 per cent of the elected members of the administrative organs of the co-operative movement were Communists, and this represented a gain over 1925, when the percentage of party members in the co-operative boards was about 14 per cent. The percentage of Communists is small in the lower units, and larger in the provincial unions, for example; Communists always have the majority in the central organs. The chairmen of the Centrosoyus and Selskosoyus are Communists. It is through these fractions and responsible leaders that the party leadership is made effective. The central party authorities find it necessary constantly to enjoin local party committees not to permit party tutelage and interference with respect to the everyday work of the co-operative organs, pointing out that questions of management should be decided by the co-operative organs themselves. The party instructions also forbid the practice of voting by lists, which was adopted when elections were resumed. Often only a Communist party list was presented, with several non-party candidates included, but now each individual candidate must be voted on separately, as in the Soviet and trade-union elections.

The Communists believe that through the co-operative movement the 24,000,000 individual peasant enterprises will be brought into the line of socialistic development, through collectivist forms of organization. The co-operative societies are expected to break down the individualistic inertia of the peasantry. The co-operative movement is therefore put on a plane of equality with the development of the large-scale state industry in the list of tasks confronting the party. There is no concealment of the aim of the Communists, and also of the Soviet authorities, gradually but surely to bring the peasants to their ideal. Educational methods are to be used, but pressure is also exerted, at least indirectly. It is frankly stated to the peasants that the Soviet authority, as well as the party, considers collective agriculture a more perfect economic form than individualistic agriculture, and that the collective enterprises will be given special assistance by tax exemptions, better terms of credit, and priority in the distribution of agricultural machinery.

The Communist ideal for agriculture is already realized in the *Colhoz*, or "collective agricultural enterprise," in which there is communization of all implements, live stock, and land. In 1926 the some 16,000 of these enterprises, comprising over 900,000 "mouths," produced enough to sell almost half of their total crops of grain. According to these figures, the collective enterprises have ceased to be the pensioned consumers, which they were during the first years of the

Communist experiment. The collective use of a part of the implements is realized in the agricultural co-operatives; certain major labor processes are thus communized. The distribution of the products of agriculture, which is the other activity of the agricultural co-operatives is also a degree of communization. The Communists believe that these steps will lead inevitably to the communizing of land tenure also. Apparently the more prosperous peasants instead of the poorer ones have gone in for this type of co-operation, however. The false co-operatives of rich peasants have been discovered particularly in this branch of co-operation. But Soviet, party, and central co-operative authorities have been enjoined to check up more carefully on these agricultural co-operatives and to take the initiative in organizing agricultural co-operatives among the poor peasants. In the *Colhoz* the majority of the members from the beginning have been the poor peasants, and only a few middle peasants have been drawn in.

The main task of the agricultural co-operatives is therefore to direct the economic development of the basic mass of the peasantry along the socialistic channel. Different methods of approach are used for the middle peasant as opposed to the poor peasant. In the case of the middle peasant, a long, slow process is contemplated. First his purchases and then his sales are co-operatized. Then the handling of his products in co-operative dairy or similar enterprises is to be developed. Finally through machinization and electrification, over the distribution of which a central control can be established, it is believed that the very basis of the individual conduct of an enterprise can be made over. The poor peasants must be saved to agriculture, being on the point of abandoning it. They need credit, implements, and even land. For them a collectivist form of conducting the agricultural enterprise can be put forward immediately and with insistence.

The revival of the co-operative movement and the development of publication activity in general have brought a large and growing co-operative press and a mass of literature on the co-operative movement. Even the lower unions of co-operatives have their own periodical publications, and the larger bodies have their newspapers. These periodical publications discuss the general and technical problems of organization and management, but also general political questions. The political significance attached to the principle of co-operation by the Communists, and through them by the Soviet government, opens up practically all fields to discussion from the point of view of their relation to the co-operative movement. The publication of a co-operative body is therefore often also the general newspaper for its readers.

Pamphlets have been used particularly extensively for the propaganda of the ideas of co-operation. Of the technical co-operative literature, much is issued in pamphlet form, to reach the broad masses of workmen and peasants. The non-periodical literature, including the pamphlets, is published in the main by the central bodies, so that the policy to be followed by the movement can be directed and controlled. The pamphlets for peasants urge on the members to keep the doors closed to their "exploiters" the rich peasants, and in general carefully watch over and control the work of their society or association, explaining the rights of members in these respects. They emphasize the importance of the elections and of active participation in them. The rôle of the instructors is carefully explained. Attention is called to the special solicitude of party and governmental authorities with respect to the movement. The underlying theme of these pamphlets is always the economic saving for consumer and producer which co-operation gives. Many of the pamphlets are illustrated with simple diagrams and statistical tables and also pictures of co-operative stores or fields cultivated by co-operative effort.

Posters represent an even more popular form of co-operative propaganda. Some of the best of the Soviet posters are found among those published by the central organs of the co-operative movement. Again, the peasants can be reached most effectively through posters. Some of the posters are statistical, showing the growth of the movement and its place in the economic life of the country. Diagrams will be used to carry the statistical data. Many posters present scenes of peasant life, run in series of squares, picturing the changes which co-operation has brought in the conditions of labor, in profits, in comforts, and in leisure. The rich peasant or the private shopkeeper is always portrayed as the overfed, well-dressed "bourgeois." In one particularly striking poster, published by the Centrosoyus, the single figure is a peasant standing in his rye field. He holds in his upraised hands a book across the cover of which is the word "Co-operation." The peasant is using the book to strike at two enormous insects which are gnawing at the roots of his grain. One of the insects has a fat human face and is marked "Rich Peasant"; the other is a loathsome-looking animal, and the words "Private Trade" are written across its body.

The Soviet, party, and trade-union newspapers and periodicals give much space and attention to the co-operative movement. In the mass newspapers for workmen and peasants the correspondents are constantly writing about the local co-operative. Recently the Mos-

cow *Pravda* introduced an interesting contest among its correspondents by devoting two columns each day for over a month to descriptions of the local co-operatives. The contest was for the "best and worst co-operative," and many of the contestants seemed to be out to win the prize for discovering and exposing the worst co-operative of the Soviet Union.

All co-operative units under their charters may carry on educational work. The pamphlet literature and the press of the central organs of the movement aim to spread the idea and principles of co-operatives. The instructors represent educational activity, but to date they have had to devote their time to problems of organization and tasks of inspection. It is the intention that the co-operatives develop systematic educational and cultural activities like those promoted by the trade-unions, using the clubs in the cities and reading rooms in the villages as centers. The Soviet system furnishes the most favorable soil for the co-operative movement, it is argued; and the economic success of the movement is considered the best evidence of this fact. In 1923, when the new movement and growth were already manifest, Lenin had written that only one more thing was necessary. He defined this condition of real success as follows: "We must make our population so 'civilized' that it will realize all the advantages of a wholesale mass participation in co-operation and organize this participation." The leader went on to explain that this would require a complete change of front and a long period of cultural development of the entire mass of the people.

So side by side with literacy in general, "co-operation literacy" is to be spread, in the peasantry particularly. Among the workmen, political literacy is expected to rest on "trade-union literacy." Among the peasants co-operative literacy is to serve as the foundation of political literacy. In both instances, it should be noted that the "trade-union grammar" and the "co-operation grammar" have been introduced only comparatively recently; before it was "political grammar" only. The co-operative educational work is less extensive and less organized because of the more recent development of a new co-operative movement. Also, in the politically backward peasantry the task is a more difficult one. The unsystematic and casual character of the educational work of the co-operative is a source of worry to the Communists. Co-operative education is still largely in the discussion period. As in the general field of education, literacy must precede education in co-operative methods and ideas. Under the régime of economy to reduce the enormous overhead expenditures, educational work was the

first to suffer. In the trade-unions the collective bargains always provide for a percentage of the pay-roll for educational and cultural work. Even the larger unions of co-operatives have adopted the suggestion of fixed appropriations from profits for educational work only in a few cases; and in these cases, within very narrow limits. One co-operative worker recently concluded an article on the subject with the statement:

> The authoritative word of the party is needed to bring those responsible for the work of the co-operative centers and unions out of the state of lethargy, and to force them to take up the task of education seriously and on a program that carries well into the future.

The Communists speak of their co-operative movement as another expression of Soviet democracy; the local societies and associations, with their pre-election campaigns, their elections of boards and revision commissions, provide for mass control of the basic, primary units of the movement; in the boards and revision committees the people learn to manage their own affairs. Thus "the housewife will learn to administer the state," to quote again from Lenin's famous slogan. In the district and provincial unions of co-operatives, the more active local workers assume and carry wider responsibilities. The co-operative movement has developed its bureaucracy, however; and the instructors, and particularly the central and regional co-operative authorities, form a kind of superstructure, to direct and control the movement. Although in theory an independent organization, the Soviet co-operatives are assigned specific fields of activity and tasks by governmental authorities, in part as a result of the special privileges extended to them by law. The recent tendency has been to increase the special solicitude for co-operative organizations on the part of all governmental bodies. The close relationship to governmental institutions has meant a measure of subordination to them.

The co-operatives represent theoretically a voluntary as well as a mass movement. The economic policies of the government, enforced through its control of manufacturing industry and its own participation in trade, act as powerful stimuli; and there is therefore still an element of compulsion to form co-operative societies. In addition the Communist party furnishes the leadership of the co-operative movement, enforces its Communist line, and introduces co-operative discipline. While primarily economic organizations, the Soviet co-operatives are made to participate in the politics of the Revolution. The utilization of the co-operatives as a field for the class struggle is expected to enhance their educational value as well as their economic ef-

ficiency and to promote the co-operative spirit. In and through the co-operatives it is believed that a more articulate political consciousness will come in a peasantry which has not been politically minded. The political consciousness that is developed can be given a direction through the co-operatives. In general terms, the Soviet co-operatives are one of the important agencies set up to wean the peasants to socialism.

At the December, 1927, congress of the party the co-operative movement was one of the main subjects of discussion. A special permanent committee was formed to direct more closely the work of the party among the peasants, and a new policy was adopted for this work. The general line of the party work in the agricultural districts had been the strengthening of the individual peasant enterprises of poor and middle peasants. Now there was to be a radical change of policy, in the sense that "every organ (of the party and Soviets) having to do with the village must set itself the basic task of uniting and reorganizing small, individual peasant enterprises." These organs are not to undertake directly the organization of these collectivist enterprises, but they are to give particular attention and privileged assistance to the collectivist enterprises as opposed to the individual enterprise. This change of policy was dictated, it was insisted, not by the interests of the party and of the proletarian state but by the insistent demands from the peasant masses themselves, who had become awakened and attracted by the already successful first examples of collectivist enterprises and by the co-operative movement in general.

The decisions adopted at the party congress with reference to the peasants may be briefly summarized: It was emphasized that the 24,000,000 individual peasant enterprises represented the basic mass of the population of the Soviet Union. On the proper policy with regard to this peasant mass of over 100,000,000 depended in a very literal sense the fate of the proletarian dictatorship and the Revolution. The ten "great" years of proletarian dictatorship had not failed to leave their traces in the village; there has been a very fundamental change in its economic and political aspects. The old landlord exploitation had been eliminated. Although there had been an increase of the rich-peasant element, the middle peasant had remained the central figure, and his rôle was increasing in importance. At the same time the alliance between middle peasants and the peasant poverty had been strengthened. The roots of socialism have not died out, as the opposition in the party has insisted, but have shown a tendency to grow.

The clearest evidences were the increase of producers' co-operatives and the solvency of collective agricultural enterprises. The party duty was summarized as that of convincing the peasant masses of the need and advantage of passing to socialized production, and of actively encouraging this transition, using to this end the entire system of commanding heights held by the party. Another of the important fields of party work in the village was the development of literacy and culture among the peasant masses; for without the latter Lenin's co-operative plan could not be realized. The secretary of the new committee of the party for work in the village concluded his report at the congress with the following statement:

> It is impossible to build socialism in the city only; socialism can and must be built in the village as much as in the city. Further, it must be realized that socialism cannot be built in the village simply through the efforts of a chairman of a village Soviet, working with the secretary of the party cell. These two people alone cannot create socialism. The problem is to bring into this work of socialist construction the broad masses of poor and middle peasants who are filled with petty-bourgeois views, to a certain degree not believing in collectivism, and whose civic instinct is much weaker than that of the workman class.

CHAPTER IX

SOVIET CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS

The general term "civic organization" is used to cover a large variety of societies and organizations which have developed under the Soviet system. Many of these organizations correspond to what would be called "patriotic societies" in other countries. Others, however, are clearly distinctive of the Soviet order, suggested by the principles on which the latter is based. The international aspect of the Revolution has given rise to societies and organizations whose interests and activities are directed to the outside world. It will be necessary to bring together for discussion here societies of very different aims and methods of organization. But all are based on much the same principles, such as voluntary membership and the development of the interest of the masses or of a particular class in some kind of civic activity. Some of these civic organizations supplement the Soviets, the trade-unions, or the co-operatives. In all of them the Communist party, the Komsomol, and the Pioneers find a field for the greater activity expected of these groups. These organizations are distinct from the official Soviets. It is not their primary aim to touch the economic activity of their members as do the trade-unions and co-operatives. They are loose, mass organizations quite different from the three Communist organizations of party, youth, and children. In most of these organizations the class principle is not strongly emphasized. In the majority of them, however, political aims are in the foreground. The inclusion here of religious associations will seem inadmissible, or at least forced, and the reasons for doing so will be explained. Also it will be necessary to justify bringing the peasant village meetings into the category of civic organizations.

Each of these organizations has its own particular history, developing in a particular situation or aiming at a particular objective. They all have a continuous and general activity, but now one and now another will come forward into special activity to meet a particular crisis. Several hold periodic conferences or congresses which summarize growth, attainments, and aims; and for the period of such conferences the press will concentrate on the character and purposes of the organization. Crises in internal or foreign affairs will bring drives and press campaigns in the interest of the organization which works

in the field where a critical situation has developed. The special activity and leadership of the Communist party, Komsomol, and Pioneers in practically all of these organizations, with the exception of the religious societies, make possible concentration on a particular subject through the related organization, to support a public policy or meet a public problem. So not only are civic interest and activity in general promoted by these organizations, but also public opinion may be readily evoked and easily directed. As in the case of all Soviet institutions, the spontaneity of the expression of opinion or of the civic activity is questioned by many because of the rôle of leadership assumed by the Communists with their centralized and disciplined party organization. In all these organizations, with the exception again of the religious societies, the Communists and Komsomol cells will have taken the initiative, or will have been the most active members, or will have assumed the leadership through formal Communist and Komsomol fractions within the society.

The most active and politically important of the civic organizations are the "patronage" societies. The French word *chef* has been adopted to designate this type of organization, and the character of the organization suggested that the term be rendered by our word "patronage." Both words are poorly chosen perhaps. The reason for the adoption of the Russian term lies in the past. Under the old régime a regiment, for example, had its honorary commander who was called the *chef*. In other fields also there was the institution of patron, so that the idea had currency and force, particularly among the backward peasants, whose marked weakness was the tendency to look for assistance from some higher authority or class. A new type of patronage was to be developed under the Soviets, and the old word was retained perhaps in order to emphasize the fact that there had come a change in the character and methods of patronage.

There are many varieties of patronage societies. The underlying principle of all of them is that a group which is better organized, economically stronger, and politically more conscious assumes with respect to a group which is less well organized, economically weaker, and politically backward the special responsibility of material and moral assistance. The first and the largest field for patronage activity is that of the relations between the proletariat and the peasantry. Workman groups assume the patronage of peasants. The patronage of a regiment by a factory is a special expression of this type because of the predominance of the peasants in the Red army. But a regiment may become the patron of a Pioneer brigade. Soviet administrative

institutions also assume patronage of a peasant community, so that the toiling intelligentsia may also help and influence the culturally backward village group. An educational institution "adopts" another group on cultural grounds, and in turn becomes the object of special solicitude for an industrial group so that it may be brought into closer touch with the processes of production.

In the attempt to secure the main facts with respect to this interesting form of civic activity, one found that the possible combinations were almost infinite. The idea in fact became so popular that it was necessary to introduce regulation, although the elemental and even casual character of the movement was perhaps its most forceful feature. A Central Patronage Commission for the workman-peasant societies was introduced. The patronage of regiments has been co-ordinated under a department of the War Commissariat. For the Red fleet the Komsomol assumed direction of all patronage activity among the sailors. The spontaneity which characterized the patronage movement in its first years may have been somewhat lessened by these steps in the direction of organization. On the other hand the activities of the patronage societies have been given a more practical value by the direction and control of co-ordinating bodies. New combinations are constantly being made, the latest noted being the assumption of patronage by a group of grand-opera artists with respect to an amateur dramatic organization of the workmen of a factory. The influence of one group on the other is to work both ways in this case; the workmen are to help the opera meet the demands of the new audience, of workmen.

Within the patronage movement a workmen's society of patronage of peasants is the most important type. Such societies were the first expression of the idea and have done the most systematic and practical work. For here in these societies one has the embodiment of several of the fundamental principles of the Soviet system. The leadership of the workmen with respect to the peasants, the extension of proletarian influence to the villages, the "cementing" of the two classes of workmen and peasants, and the general policy of "face to the village"—all these principles or policies underlie the activities of these particular societies. Here, also, the spontaneous character claimed for all of these patronage societies is most marked. The Russian workmen have only recently come up from the villages, and many habitually visit their villages frequently. The family of the factory workman sometimes remains on in the village while its head works in the city. During the food crisis of 1919 and 1920 many workmen re-

turned to their villages and re-established their ties with the peasantry.

It was from the Communist cells that the first workmen's patronage societies developed. Among the commissions of a cell there was formed a patronage commission for the party cell of a rural district. Through this contact the factory cell was to help the rural cell in the latter's activity among the peasants. Then the factory committees took up the idea on the initiative of their Communist fractions. In the first stages of the movement the principle of voluntary membership was frequently nullified by the practice of a collective decision of the whole group to assume the patronage responsibility. In order to give the movement a mass character among the workmen, the factory committee became the accepted basis for all societies. The patronage society as finally developed is organized with a directing board composed of representatives of the party cell and the Factory Committee or of the cult-commission of the latter. The original party leadership is thus retained. Co-ordinating bodies are limited to provinces, as a patronage society never goes outside the province in its activities. General conferences are held, however, which give a single direction to the movement as a whole. The books and guides prepared by the co-ordinating bodies of the most important centers of the movement at Moscow and Leningrad are used by the societies in other industrial districts.

The patronage society derives its funds from several sources. In the first place there are the membership dues, which are fixed at five kopecks per month. Subscription campaigns are organized; one of the weeks in the Soviet calendar of campaigns is the Cementing Week; the cementing together of workmen and peasants is always meant when this word is used as a slogan. Concerts or dramatic performances are organized in Workmen's Clubs, and the proceeds turned over for the work of patronage.

Patronage activity was largely agitational in character at first. Campaigns or drives were carried down to the villages by the representatives of these workmen's societies. In some instances for the village it was really a violent invasion from the city. Meetings with speeches were organized and the urban group then returned with the consciousness of duty well performed. There is still a great deal of this "concert singing," as it is called. More effective was the material assistance rendered in the matter of literature, subscriptions to newspapers, and even implements. In the period of the famine of 1921 there was emphasis on material help. At present the emphasis is on

moral assistance which expresses itself in a variety of forms. The representative of the society helps in the organization of the co-operative, or he suggests the literature to be secured for the village reading-room. More particularly he discusses the current political and economic problems with the active element of the village. He must always work particularly with and through the proletariat of the village, the poor peasant, and the party and Komsomol cells. He must help to unite the poor and middle peasants against the rich peasants. Or he serves as the channel through which other civic organizations reach the peasantry with their subscription lists and literature. It is now part of the activity of a patronage society to prepare members for permanent residence and work in the villages, in the name of the society. To this end circles for the study of the village are formed. Many of the workmen spend their vacations in their villages, and these circles also prepare them to use such visits for patronage activity, for the patronage movement has in mind "all-sided help from urban workmen to the peasants."

Organized excursions of large groups of members are still used, although this earlier practice is being replaced by the delegation of representatives for more practical work or the sending of the permanent worker. Corresponding excursions of peasants to the city and the factory are also part of the patronage activity. Of late, special attention has been given to the peasants who have come up to the city seeking temporary or permanent employment. These seasonal peasant-workmen and the fresh recruits to the class open a field right at hand for assistance from the workmen's societies.

Many false lines have been taken by individual societies, and the attitude of the peasants toward their patrons has not always been in line with the aims of the movement. It has been found that frequently the activity of a representative from the patronage society led to the comment by the peasants that "our patron visited us today." This comment suggested an attitude similar to that which prevailed when the patron was a grand duke. As against this false note created by the attitude and methods of the workman-patron, there have been instances where the village or the institution sought to use the patron group for some menial task, such as washing floors or cleaning out corridors. The patron society is expected to do practical work but not to give attention to minor details. It helps the peasants to organize, with its greater experience and clearer understanding of the principles and technique of Soviet forms of structure. Its task also is to interpret the policies of the government and party. For example, a

recent suggestion is that the "régime of economy" be explained and that the experience of the factory, for example, be discussed with a view to helping the village apply the new slogan to itself. The reports on the investigation of the work of the patronage society in one rural canton noted that the political consciousness of the whole group had been markedly raised; that extensive educational and cultural work had been carried on, in large measure as the result of the initiative of visiting workmen; and that the material assistance had been given by a patronage society. In reporting on its own work, one patronage society said that it played the rôle of "yeast," by imperceptibly pushing the village to new life and work.

The activities of the other patronage societies do not differ substantially from those of the workmen's societies among the peasants. The societies of patronage for Red army soldiers and sailors aim particularly to keep those in military service in touch with everyday, civilian life. The extension of proletarian influence on the peasantry is also realized by the contact thus established with the peasant-soldiers in the barracks of the urban community. In pre-revolutionary Russia representatives of the progressive intelligentsia tried in every possible way to come closer to the "people," particularly to the peasants. They were prevented from accomplishing this kind of missionary effort by the authorities on the one hand and by the attitude of suspicion of the people on the other. As the patronage movement is either a workmen's effort or is carried on under Communist direction as part of Soviet democracy, it is given every encouragement by both government and party. And the attitude of the peasants toward the patrons from the city seems to be favorable. The Communists deny that there is any resentment at the rôle of leadership which the workmen have assumed in general under the Soviet system, and particularly through their patronage work among peasants. For the patronage society does more than spread culture; it is an active political leadership of a class-conscious and politically more aggressive group with respect to a more passive group. The workmen of the cities in their manifest eagerness for education clearly welcome the patronage activities in their behalf on the part of the intelligentsia. The Pioneers of course are proud of being adopted by a regiment. For the sailors the patronage comes from members of their own classes, the youth of the workmen and peasants. It is in the patronage activity of workmen with respect to peasants that a political problem may develop. The general formula given by the Communists is that whereas antagonism between rural and urban elements is inevitable under the capitalistic

system, it is possible but not inevitable under the Soviet order. The patronage societies, by the very character of their activities, are believed to make less possible an antagonism between workmen and peasants. The workmen's societies are being constantly pushed by the leaders to more organized effort and greater activity.

The actual reach of the whole movement is not determinable because of the character of its activity. In a visit to a group of peasant villages, very concrete evidence was seen, in the form of literature particularly and also of a couple of footballs, that the patronage had meant something. In 1926 there were 150,000 patronage societies, with a total membership of over a million. In 1928 the workmen's societies alone claimed over 1,500,000 members, exercising patronage functions in some 1,000 rural districts. Every member is expected to contribute something to the work, in addition to his five kopecks a month, but activity on the part of the whole membership has not been attained. Here, as in all Soviet organizations, there is the active element in contrast with the passive. An investigation in one factory of 1,000 workmen showed that while 300 were formal members of the patronage society there was in fact only one active patronage worker. The society in another factory was found to have been more active. It had sent notebooks, pencils, and pamphlets to the villages of its adopted district. It claimed a measure of credit for the organization of 27 Red corners, 3 village reading-rooms, several military preparedness corners, and for supplying these with the necessary equipment and literature. Also it had collected money to buy a winnower and had aided in the organization of several co-operative societies and in the abandonment of the old three-field system of crops. The active element is expected to report on its work regularly, and these reports are often made to the whole body of the workmen of the factory. By these reports it is hoped to stir up the passive element and also bring more members into the society.

The Conferences of Delegates of Workwomen and Peasant Women have been mentioned in the discussion of the Soviet type of state. It was pointed out that they were not governmental in character but that they aimed, among other things, to supplement the Soviet governmental bodies. This institution will be touched on again later, as one of the methods of special political education, like the schools of "political grammar." These conferences are, however, voluntary civic organizations and as such must be included here. Special Russian conditions suggested the need of promoting this particular institution. It was given the character of a voluntary non-party mass organiza-

tion of very wide and general aims in order to meet these special conditions. The women of the workman and peasant classes with few exceptions have been far behind the men in political development. The traditional negative attitude of workmen and peasants toward any assertiveness in public life on the part of their women folk had carried over, so that the equal rights given to women by the Revolution were being realized very slowly. It was necessary to break down this attitude by developing constructive assertiveness on the part of the women. In this way women also would participate in the Soviet democracy. A phrase given by Lenin to emphasize the merits of the Soviet form of government, which has been cited several times already, is directly applicable to this special organization of the toiling women of the Soviet system. Lenin pointed out, it will be recalled, that under the Soviets the housewife would learn to administer the state. This catchword became one of the mottoes of the Women Delegates' Conferences movement.

The party took the initiative in organizing these conferences. The party organs, from cells up to the Central Committee, all have their women's sections. These are the active leaders of the Conferences. The party furnishes the staff of organizers and instructors; many party members carry on their obligatory civic activity in connection with these conferences. The literature for the movement is largely supplied by the publication departments of the party. The conferences are held in the headquarters of the party cell when it is possible and convenient. The cost of the movement is evidently borne by the treasury of the party, as there are no membership dues collected from the participants in the conferences.

Every year elections are held in cities and villages to select the women delegates to the local conferences. In the large cities there will be conferences in the various sections of the city; a smaller town may have only one conference; in the rural communities a cantonal conference will cover all the villages of the canton, with sub-sections in the villages. In 1926 there were about 6,000 urban conferences of workingwomen and 12,000 rural conferences of peasant women. The total number of participants was about 620,000, and these were elected by millions. Each year an entirely new contingent is elected, so that in each locality the number of women brought into the general political life is being constantly increased. The meetings of a conference are frequent; in the more active centers they are held at least once a week, and for a long, Russian evening. Attendance at the conference cannot be made obligatory, but the percentage of attendance is from 60 to 70

per cent of the formal membership. Periodic meetings of the conferences of a city or canton are held several times a year.

The general function of the conferences is to bring before the women the current problems in the political and economic fields. This is done by discussions based on special reports. By these discussions individuals are aroused to activity in this or that field. Thus are developed the "activists" among the women, who become Soviet deputies, members of factory committees, or members of the managing boards of the co-operative societies. The increase of the women members in the Soviets has been noted, and is due in considerable measure to this special organization of women.

In addition to the fixed program of discussions the members of a conference organize circles through which practical work along the special interests of individuals is carried on. The widest latitude is allowed in the development of these special interests. The women are urged to study military affairs, so that they can be more useful citizens in the field of preparedness for defense, for example. In all this circle activity the instructions to the leaders of the movement emphasize the need of co-ordinating it with the practical, everyday problems of the women, as wage-earners or as housewives. A group may set itself the task of combatting the prevalent practice of wife-beating, or corporal punishment of children by parents, or the use of obscene language in the home. Another concrete task may be to bring the young girls of the village or urban community into the Pioneer movement. In general, on the cultural front the conferences are urged to give their attention to concrete and purposeful tasks; although on the other sides of their activity, they are expected to discuss general political subjects.

The peasant husbands particularly still look with skepticism on these conferences. It is reported that many family quarrels are caused by the movement. Publicity and propaganda are helping the women to overcome the opposition of their men. Three newspapers are published by the party for the women: *The Working Woman*, *The Peasant Woman*, and *The Woman Delegate*. The newspapers for peasants, as well as the general press, set aside much space to reports on the work of the conferences, thus aiding in the effort to break down the prejudices of the men and at the same time the general indifference toward public matters in the women of the Russian workman and peasant classes. In one peasant newspaper a cartoon in two sections showed a peasant wife trying to keep the husband from entering the saloon, and the peasant husband holding the wife back at the entrance

to the conference headquarters. Workmen also often actively protest when the wife goes off to her meeting or is drawn into public activity by membership in a conference, and the people's courts have many such cases to arbitrate. But the women have their own elections every year, and over half a million meet regularly to discuss, and also to study, in preparation for a more active participation in public affairs, despite many jeers and even opposition from their men folks.

The Kov, or "Peasant Society for Mutual Assistance," is another type of civic organization. Peasant committees of mutual assistance were first suggested by Lenin and were started in the province of Moscow, under the leadership of the party, at the beginning of the famine in 1920. By May, 1921, a decree gave the legal form for the movement, and similar committees were established throughout the country as part of the campaign for famine relief. The provinces which escaped the famine were to give relief to the famine-stricken provinces; products were collected and dispatched to the famine districts. On the basis of this activity the committees became one of the main instrumentalities for the government assistance in the reconstruction work in the famine-ravaged provinces. An All-Russian congress was convened at the end of 1922 at which Kalinin in a welcoming speech made the following statement: "When we have Communism the whole state will be an enormous organization of mutual assistance of all mankind. From this point of view the peasant committees of mutual assistance are schools of Communist statecraft for the peasants."

With this aim in mind the movement was changed from a purely philanthropic organization to one based on actual mutual assistance. Local committees of the poorest elements were organized, to supplement the special governmental assistance which was being given to the poor peasants as a general policy. After 1924 the younger and progressive elements of the middle peasants were brought in, by another reorganization on the voluntary-collective principle, and the name was changed to "Societies." The Komsomol was given a special rôle of leadership in order to attract the younger element of the peasantry. One of the aims of the societies is to further collectivist practices among the peasants. But the societies are not part of the general cooperative movement and have not been merged with the latter. Membership is voluntary; and small membership dues are assessed, which represent only about 5 per cent of the income of the societies. The societies have their own economic enterprises, in the form of land under cultivation or small workshops. From these they derive some of the income mentioned above, at the same time helping poor peasants to

find work in agriculture or small industrial enterprises. Some of the societies have their own mills. The possession of agricultural machinery, and particularly tractors, is a feature of these societies; and the mutual assistance is largely in the distribution of the use of this machinery. Over 1,400 tractors were in the hands of these societies in the summer of 1927. In 1925 these societies had an aggregate income of over 13,000,000 rubles and had given some measure of assistance to 1,136,312 separate households.

The original philanthropic aspect of the societies has not disappeared entirely. The land of disabled soldiers or of the families of Red army soldiers in service, is cultivated by these societies. The weaker members are helped without pay, and this is accepted by the other members as a form of insurance for themselves against accident or misfortune. Loans to needy peasants represent one of the most usual forms of mutual assistance. Educational work is carried on by the organization of lectures. Many of the village reading-rooms have been started and supported with the funds of the society. Appropriations from governmental bodies cover some expenditures. The peasant homes in cities are often institutions of these societies. In these homes, which one finds in all provincial cities and in many district towns, the peasant who comes to the city or town finds lodging and food at nominal prices. In the larger peasant homes the peasant will find extensive exhibits on agricultural topics and experts to explain the exhibits. Regularly organized information bureaus, at which lawyers and other experts hold office hours, help to solve the peasant's legal problem of taxation or land tenure. At the Central Peasants' Home in Moscow, practical instruction and assistance is particularly well organized. Here the visiting peasant is shown how to sink wells, use cement in construction, make fire-proof roofing, and so forth. Agricultural machinery, including tractors, is on exhibit. In the evenings entertainments are arranged, interspersed with lectures and discussions on political subjects and on the economic policies of the government and of the party.

The Kov has its regular yearly elections of boards and auditing committees. These elections, with the Soviet and co-operative elections, are the most important elections in a peasant community. Older than the new co-operatives, more distinctly an organization for the poorer peasants, and more directly under party and Komsomol leadership, the Kov is considered by the Communists as one of the most important social forces in the village; it is often spoken of as the leading expression of civic activity in a peasant community. For this

reason, and because governmental appropriations pass through the hands of these societies, the local societies are formally co-ordinated by provinces and are centrally directed by a Central Committee, which holds regular plenary sessions. The Central Committee has directive powers with respect to the local societies. As already noted, party and Komsomol local bodies are instructed to give particular attention to these societies, to participate actively in them, and thus exercise another directing influence with respect to them.

In sharp contrast to the Peasant Society of Mutual Assistance is the Village Assembly. The classing of this latter institution as a voluntary civic organization is subject to question. It would seem to belong in this category of Soviet organizations, however. This is the old, traditional village meeting of the peasant *mir*, which survived even serfdom and became the organ of self-administration of the peasant after the emancipation. The self-administration of the Russian peasant community of the old régime was strictly limited, it is true; in many instances the peasant elective officials became mere agents of the bureaucratic authority. In spite of these limitations, the village assembly did convene, discuss, and decide matters of land tenure and distribution, elect its elder, and go through the motions at least of self-government.

During the first months of the Soviet régime these Village Assemblies became the new authorities in the rural communities, voting the seizure of the estates of the landlords and proceeding to carry out the appropriation and redistribution of the land, for example. In this sense they were the Soviets of the rural community, that is, the instruments for the establishment of a new class authority, of the peasantry as opposed to the landed gentry. As already noted, the peasants were allowed to follow their own lines during the first period of the Revolution. By the summer of 1918, however, the Soviet principles of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship were to be applied more strictly within the peasantry. To this end Committees of Poorest Peasants were instituted, which became the real Soviet, class authority in the villages. In 1920 the policy was adopted of carefully differentiating middle peasants from rich peasants, and favoring also the former. Further concessions were made to the middle peasants under the New Economic Policy of 1921. Regularly elected Soviets were re-established, from which only the small bourgeois element in the village was excluded. But the cantonal Soviet, co-ordinating all the villages of a canton or township, was made the center of authority; and the village Soviets were correspondingly reduced in importance. The indifference

which the peasants showed toward the Soviet elections in 1924 has been pointed out. It would seem that it was precisely at this same moment that the old traditional general village meeting began to revive. In any case, from that time dates the lively discussion of the relationship between the village Soviet and the Village Assembly. For the latter, composed of all heads of households regardless of the Soviet suffrage qualifications, would meet and make formal decisions in spite of the fact that an elected Soviet was the new governmental authority in the village.

During a visit to a group of peasant villages in 1926 such a village meeting was attended. It was a general gathering like the prerevolutionary village assemblies. Even the local priest was present. The representatives of the local Soviet, supported in this instance by the party authorities of the canton, took the chairmanship of the meeting, allowed the discussion to become general, and interfered only when a minimum of parliamentary procedure was necessary to determine the general sentiment of the gathering. The meeting clearly felt that it had authority; the Soviet and party representatives, who acted as chairmen and participated in the discussions, stated that the Soviet of the village would take steps to carry out the decisions of the meeting, which seemed to satisfy the meeting. For the Village Assembly has no governmental authority and no place even in the structure of Soviets. Technically, it is simply a voluntary gathering of citizens to express their opinions, although in fact it may often be the body that in reality determines the policy in internal village questions. It cannot be stated to what extent the situation noted in this particular village is general. The Village Assemblies are not forbidden; it would probably be impossible as well as inexpedient to suppress them.

Through these assemblies the peasantry as a whole of each community may express itself, but actual authority is vested in the Soviets and their executive committees. For the Communists these old village assemblies represent the "mere inhabitants" as opposed to a self-conscious class or economic group. The assemblies are allowed to continue, as a concession to peasant habits; in fact, attempt is made to promote and use them to develop civic interest and activity in matters of cultural development, through subscriptions to repair the school building or equip a reading room. But each assembly is simply a local affair, and there are no corresponding cantonal or higher coordinating conferences or meetings. The Village Assemblies are of special interest in this study because they show the attitude of the Communist leaders toward an institution, in the structure of which

the class principle is absent, even when it is also a mass institution. For in such an institution the leadership of the more class-conscious element cannot be realized, and the principle of class struggle cannot be made the basis of activity.

Societies of a broad, general membership, as opposed to societies of workmen or peasants or women, are found in the Soviet system. One of the first general societies of Soviet origin was that which carried the cumbersome title of "Down-with-Illiteracy Society." The large percentage of illiteracy, among workmen as well as peasants, was one of the heaviest burdens inherited from the old régime. The "liquidation of illiteracy" became one of the first objectives for the new leaders in the field of education. "Liquidation points" were set up, where the mature workmen and peasants could learn at least to read and write. For a government of workmen and peasants could not be organized fully with a large percentage of the workmen and peasants illiterate. Where there was illiteracy, politics became mere gossip, Lenin had said in one of his speeches. It became a civic duty to learn to read and write. And for those who were educated, it became a civic duty to contribute to the campaign against illiteracy by assisting at the liquidation points established by the government. This was the origin of this society, which aimed to organize this voluntary assistance. The element of compulsion which was found so generally in Soviet organizations of the early period of the Revolution was present also here. The intelligentsia, which was being drawn into the Soviet institutions, was in a sense mobilized to help in this work.

The societies are now wholly voluntary, but much of their work is directed by definite organizations. The party and the Komsomol handle the problem for their respective members; the literate member joins the society, gives a certain number of hours to the liquidation points, and thus performs his obligatory civic activity. The first civic activity required of the illiterate party or Komsomol member is to learn to read and write. The number of illiterates in the party is very small, but there are still many illiterate Komsomol members. The trade-unions also have taken over, with respect to their members, the task of helping the Commissariat of Education to spread literacy. Here there is a larger group unable to read and write, so that the trade-unions give many members to the Down-with-Illiteracy Society. Among the peasants, the problem is still a very serious one, and the society has a large field of activity before it in the rural communities. The local school teachers and others of the rural intelligentsia are expected to help in the struggle with this stubborn problem. They must

as a matter of course join the society, pay the small membership dues, but particularly engage actively in the patriotic work of teaching the older peasants to read and write.

It should be noted that considerable results have been achieved by governmental effort and also by the activity of this society. The percentage of illiteracy has been greatly reduced in the class of industrial workmen, although the many fresh recruits to this class now coming up from the peasantry keep the problem constantly before the leaders of the trade-union movement. The educational work in the Red army has eliminated illiteracy among Red army soldiers completely and early in the period of military service. The Conferences of Delegates of Workwomen and Peasant Women have been successful at least in breaking-down the passivity of many of the women of the peasant and workman classes, and the first manifestation of activity for the women is to learn to read and write. It will be recalled that the Pioneer is expected to bring his parents to a realization of the need of literacy if they are unable to read. It is believed that the radio, as well as the many lectures and discussions which now reach the peasant villages, will develop the desire to be able to read as well as listen. If the program to introduce universal obligatory primary education by 1934 is realized, then at last the source of illiteracy will be reached. For the present a large number of children still grow up unable to read and write, adding to the number of illiterates. There is, therefore, a large field still before the Down-with-Illiteracy Society. Periodically, when the facts of the situation are forcibly brought out by some statement, a press campaign or a drive for membership in the society will try to stir the membership to greater activity. A first congress was held of the active workers in the Down-with-Illiteracy Society in 1926, in order further to stimulate the members by a kind of inventory of the work already done. The report stated that since the decree on the "liquidation of illiteracy" of 1919, 8,000,000 of the 17,000,000 illiterate at that date of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic had been taught to read and write, and that the liquidation points numbered around 40,000.

Two of the largest voluntary societies of the Soviet Union have an international outlook—the International Society for Assistance to Revolutionaries generally known as the "Mopr," from the initial letters of its full title; and the Hands-off-China Society. The Mopr was organized after the abortive revolutionary movements in Hungary and Germany in 1918 and 1919, and has come into prominence again recently in connection with the Sacco and Vanzetti case. The

Hands-off-China Society dates only from 1925, when the Communists of Moscow saw imminent if not actual intervention by Western powers in China. The particular interest in the progress of the nationalist and revolutionary movement in China made the aim of this society also one of defense and assistance to revolutionaries. Communists, Young Communists, and Pioneers are trained as international revolutionaries, and through their organizations are brought into touch with the world-movement. These societies aim to reach the broader masses, so that they also shall think of the wider rôle and scope of their Revolution. One definition of the Mopr speaks of it as "the bridge which makes it possible for the broad masses of toilers to establish contact with the world-revolution and come to the assistance of the leaders who are fighting for the revolution." The first society has the main purpose of raising funds to give material assistance to political prisoners in other countries. The second society has primarily the propaganda aim; it arouses enthusiasm at home by following the success of another revolution and gives moral support to the Chinese revolutionaries by a mass interest in their struggle.

Both societies go out for large membership. The Mopr claims about 3,500,000 members in the Soviet Union, supplemented by 5,000,000 members in other countries. All Communists are members as a matter of course, and the Komsomol and Pioneers also join in large numbers. The organization of the membership is by cells, of which there were 43,000 in 1926. The Hands-off-China Society has a shorter history, and its membership is therefore smaller. In this society also the Communists and Komsomol members are well represented. The three party organizations are the principal solicitors of membership in and voluntary subscriptions to all civic organizations. To protect them against an excessive burden of subscribing themselves, a maximum has been fixed for the total of their dues and subscriptions to other societies. On the other hand, the non-party citizens, particularly of toiling intelligentsia, complain of the many small subscriptions, such as those to the Mopr, which they are practically obliged to make. The earlier practice of a collective vote that all members of the group should join the Mopr for example, has been discontinued, at least officially. During the five years of its activity the Mopr has collected over 10,000,000 rubles, of which about half was collected in the Soviet Union.

Patriotic societies, in the stricter sense of the word, have been produced under Sovietism. While national patriotism is branded as a bourgeois device to cover the exploitation of the toiling masses, the

defense of their own state, with its government of workmen and peasants, is made the patriotic duty of the toiling masses. In the chapter on the international aspect of Soviet civic training methods the subject of Soviet patriotism will be discussed in its relations to Russian nationalism and Communist internationalism. Civic organization is used to develop the will to defend the "conquests of the Revolution" and the "first toilers' state." There were, until recently, two societies working in this field, the Oso and the Aviachem; the two organizations have been now merged into a single society, called the "Osoaviachem."

"Oso" is the abbreviation of the Russian for "Society to Co-operate in Defense"; "Aviachem" is recognizable even in its Russian form and stands for "Society of Aviation and Chemical Industries." The Oso dates back to the beginning of the period of "peace," after the defeat of the White armies and the driving-out of the armies of the foreign intervention. With the resumption of trade and diplomatic relations with the outside capitalist world, it was considered necessary for the workmen and peasants to "keep their powder dry," against any renewed attempts of "world-capitalism" to crush the first toilers' state. It was to bring home to the workmen and peasants the need of further and constant defense that the Oso was organized. Membership implied interest, and supplied funds for lectures and publication and also corresponding audiences and reading public. Aviachem was organized as an answer to the Curzon ultimatum. It will be recalled that mass protests were reported as taking place all over the Soviet Union, even in the distant villages, when Great Britain made this formal protest against propaganda activity emanating from Moscow. To give this mass protest more concrete expression, this voluntary organization was started, and soon in fact included a large number of workmen and peasants. The organization was to be more than the expression of the readiness of the masses to accept the consequences of a rupture with Great Britain. It was to have the practical purpose of "assisting the masses to bring science and technical progress into the organization of the entire social and cultural life of our country." This quotation is from the speech of the president of the Soviet of People's Commissaries, Rykov, at a conference of the Moscow section of Aviachem. In this speech he developed this thought as follows:

If you and I organize a socialistic community, if we shall succeed so that in our land there shall not be ignorance, backwardness, darkness,

hunger, and cold, it will be only because science will have become an obedient tool in man's struggle for the organization of society. One of the leaders of this struggle is our Aviachem Society, which will succeed only if its aims become the aims of workmen and peasants.

The Aviachem was therefore brought into the task of building the new order as well as that of defending the Soviet fatherland. Aeroplanes were to be built for commercial purposes, but also always with a view to military defense. The chemical industry would be developed as part of the industrialization of the country, but it would be borne in mind always that in the next armed conflicts chemical warfare would play a very important part. The culturally and technically backward toilers' state must give particular attention to science, as represented in aviation and chemistry, in order to reduce its inferiority in these fields as compared with the hostile capitalistic world. The aims of the society, as here summarized, were very broad. When the friction between the Soviets and the British government culminated in the definite rupture of diplomatic relations, the Aviachem again became active as a patriotic defense society and organized the "Answer to Chamberlain." Subscriptions from factories, institutions, and peasant villages, raised by collections, were to go to the building of aeroplanes, which were to be called by this name. The aeroplanes thus supplied by popular subscription were demonstrated and exhibited as part of the drive, which was carried on for several months. The newspapers published detailed lists of the subscribers.

The effective reach of this Aviachem is indicated by the following figures. There are just short of 3,000,000 members, but of these only about 500,000 are active members, organized in cells and sections or circles or corners of various institutions, co-ordinated by a central Soviet. Two hundred and thirty-five thousand of the members are actively engaged in circles of military science; 113,000 are members of rifle-practice circles; and 11,000 belong to circles of air sports. Of the 3,000,000 members, 680,000 in round numbers are peasants, so that on the average there is only one cell for 23 rural settlements, one leader of the movement has estimated. The society has organized permanent museums, libraries, and several "defense homes." The latter would seem to be a kind of club or center for members, somewhat similar to the peasants' homes described above. In connection with the special emphasis on the Week of Defense in 1927, after the rupture of diplomatic relations with Great Britain, for a period of several months the society created detachments of workmen and peasants who

studied military affairs in a practical way and participated in the autumn maneuvers of the regular units of the Red army. An outline of the activities of the society should note the other side of its interests. The most concrete tasks here were the expeditions to clear areas subject to attacks of insects. At the last session in April, 1928, of the Central Soviet of the society, Rykov, again one of the principal orators, spoke of the "aim of the society so to organize its members that they will feel themselves to be active builders of our social order and direct participants in economic construction and also in the strengthening of the defense of the Soviet Union."

A somewhat similar type of civic organization is found in the Societies of Regional Study. These are mentioned in conjunction with the Aviachem because they also represent an effort to promote the economic and technical development of the country. As their name indicates, these societies, of which there are about 2,000, devote themselves to the study of their local administrative unit, particularly with respect to its natural resources, its economic activities, and its general cultural assets. In these studies the possibilities of co-operative effort in the utilization of resources in economic development must be stressed. With this emphasis on economic questions, narrow sectionalism will not be promoted by these societies, it is believed. The history of the region during the revolutionary years is also included in the programs of these societies. Workmen and peasants are to be brought into the general work of these societies, when, for example, the latter organize lectures and exhibitions. Regional study is one of the methods of instruction in the Soviet schools, which also benefit by the activity of these societies. The actual work of study must be carried on in large measure by the toiling intelligentsia. One does not hear much of these societies, whose activities to date at least have been local for the most part. In the few instances when actual contact was had with their work, it seemed that a large number of those who had been active in the cultural and economic work of the former provincial councils (Zemstvo) found here the possibility of further activity along the same lines. The material which is being collected by these societies is historically valuable as well as useful in meeting the economic problems of the moment.

The discussion of the religious societies at this point, and side by side with the most important of the Soviet civic organizations, will by the contrast help to bring out the position of these associations of a religious character. As voluntary, mass, and non-governmental or-

ganizations, the religious societies belong in the general category of institutions to which this chapter is devoted. But it should be noted first of all that these societies are forbidden to develop activities of a general civic character, being strictly limited to the field of religious exercises and worship. Also they have not been allowed to establish a co-ordinating structure. For each faith or denomination, or group within a denomination, the establishment of a central authority has been permitted; but no organization by district or diocese has been legalized, so that the scattered societies have no effective contacts with one another or even with their nominal central authority. The absolute separation of Church from State emphasizes this isolation. Here there is, of course, no co-ordinating leadership by the single political organization of the Soviet system, the Communist party.

Any group of citizens may petition to be allowed to form a religious society for the purposes of worship. The society is registered if the application is approved by the local Soviet authority. A church building will be turned over to the society, which is held responsible for its maintenance; the church remains the property of the people, and the society is also liable for any destruction or damage. Regular and fixed assessments on the members are prohibited; the subscriptions must be absolutely voluntary. The society must confine itself strictly to the field of religion; it cannot carry on any educational work, except seminaries to train its clergy. In the regulations for the registration of these religious societies there is the prohibition to exercise "administrative functions." This very general wording would seem to be the basis for the limitations on the societies with respect to any general civic activities. A religious society as such may not organize itself into a consumers' co-operative society, for example.

A rigid enforcement of these restrictions is enjoined on local Soviet authorities, and the injunction is effectively enforced by the Communists in the Soviets who receive special and insistent instructions from their party authorities in the matter of antireligious propaganda. With respect to the Greek Orthodox church, the former state church and the largest in membership, the policy of restriction of activity is narrowly interpreted. The Mohammedans have been allowed certain exemptions, particularly in the field of religious training to minors. Protestant churches have been less curtailed in both educational work and civic activities because their memberships have not been large and because, also, they had been persecuted under the old régime. The very rapid increase and growth of the sectarian groups

and the fact that the spirit of social service has been very strong and active among them have led during the last year or so to a somewhat more rigid enforcement of the limitations also with respect to them. Under each of the headings discussed in this study the deliberate elimination of the church from the field of civic activity or training has been or will be noted as a distinctive feature of the Soviet system.

At the same time it is admitted that many "seriously minded" young workmen and peasants, especially young women of these classes, have been joining religious societies or associating themselves with them, particularly those of the evangelical groups. Often, without any formal organization, but under the influence of the church, young people will adopt views and practices such as abstention from drinking, smoking, and the using of obscene language, and in this way start a competition with the Komsomol. The number of these young people, with respect to whom a controlling influence is considered of determining importance by the Communists, is very large according to public statements by prominent leaders of the party. It is possible that the number has been exaggerated in order to stir up the leaders and members of the Komsomol, the Communists' main channel of influence among the younger generation.

The religious society is practically the only kind of organization to which the non-citizens of the Soviet system may belong—the nepmen of the new bourgeoisie, or even the peasant trader or shopkeeper; and the restrictions as to activities imposed on the religious society tend further to decitizenize these elements. The Communists constantly emphasize this fact in order to discredit the religious societies in the eyes of workmen and the broader masses of the peasantry. In this context they describe the church as the sole consolation and a place of refuge of the elements who cannot accept ideologically the new order. The poor peasant in debt to a rich peasant, the employee of a nepman, or the "mere inhabitant" are also attracted to the church, it is explained.

The opponents of the Communists insist that there is no possibility of independent civic activity under the Soviets; they see the extension of the Communist monopoly of political organization also to the field of general civic activity. Communist initiative and direction are in fact to be noted in practically all of the civic organizations. The class principle on which Soviet institutions are based is less emphasized in the civic organizations, although it is not entirely absent and is a basis of organization or activity. All civic organizations are vol-

untary, it is claimed; but there is an element of compulsion in some of the practices used to secure membership and subscriptions. However, through elections, conferences, and in some instances their own congresses; by press publicity and publication activities of their own; through lectures, drives, and campaigns, millions are brought into touch with these organizations and presumably are influenced in their attitude by this contact. In most of the organizations a non-party active element is developed in addition to the Communist fraction or group.

CHAPTER X

MUSEUMS AND EXCURSIONS

The Revolution received as one of its "inheritances" from the old régime a very large number of historical museums and museums of art; the Tsarist government and private individuals had been generous in the establishment and support of such institutions. Russian scientists and students had been able to build up valuable historical collections, and Russian artists were well represented in the many galleries of modern painting. In addition, there were many large private art galleries belonging to rich merchants and on the estates of the landed aristocracy. The palaces of the tsars and of members of the imperial family contained rich collections of historical and artistic objects. All the private collections were nationalized. Certain historic church buildings and monasteries were converted into museums. Many of the imperial palaces, and several large private city homes and country estates, were kept intact as "museums." All these various types of museums were brought under the single direction of the Commissariat of Education, which, in its general administration of the institutions, redistributed many collections.

The Revolution also produced its own museums, the most important of which is the "museum of the Revolution." Moscow has the largest museum of the Revolution, although that of Leningrad, the first capital of the Revolution, also contains some of the most interesting historical material on the revolutionary movements. In Harkov the Museum of the Free Ukraine is in essence a museum of the revolutionary movement in the Ukraine. Several provincial cities have museums of the Revolution, often as sections of more general museums on regional study. Then there are the trade-union museums in the larger headquarters of the trade-union movement. As part of the central trade-union museum at Moscow there is the Exhibition of the Protection of Maternity and Infancy, which has become practically a permanent institution of the character of a museum. Both Moscow and Leningrad have a Museum of the Red Army and Fleet. The Museum of Social Hygiene, under the direction of the Commissariat of Public Health, is used for the promotion of individual and community

hygiene, and has many local branches where collections of models and statistical material are open to the public.

The Exhibition of the Communist International is another product of the Revolution; it is housed in the same building with the Moscow Museum of the Revolution. The Lenin Museum has already been noted in the discussion of Leninism in one of the early chapters. At present the central museum devoted to the leader is organized as a section of the Moscow Museum of the Revolution; presumably this collection of the personal belongings of Lenin will be transferred to the recently completed building of the Lenin Institute. In a sense, all the Lenin Corners are small museums, and many of them contain historical material on his life and activity. Separate museums in honor of other revolutionary leaders have been established only for such outstanding earlier figures as Hertzen and Kropotkin; the material on these earlier leaders, and also on the other prominent figures of the October revolution, is brought together in sections of the museum of the Revolution. Other smaller museums have been instituted since the Revolution, but those named here are the institutions used particularly for the promotion of political consciousness. Similarly, of the older museums, our interest is in those which are utilized to further the work of political education. In a summary of an official program of excursions, which will be given presently, other museums and exhibitions will be noted and briefly described.

The institution of excursions, to which there has been frequent reference in other chapters, will be discussed more in detail here in connection with the museums. For it is through these systematically organized excursions that the various museums and exhibitions are made to serve the aims of political propaganda and education. Excursions are organized for other purposes than that of visiting the historical or artistic collections. So-called "excursion work" has received very wide application under the Soviet system. The most usual excursion, and the one that is easiest to organize, is the museum excursion, however; it represented the beginning of the practice, which later was to be extended to other fields. Visitors to the Soviet Union have been impressed by the large number of workmen, peasants, soldiers, and children to be seen in the various museums. The statement is often made that the Revolution opened up the museums to the masses, who before were not admitted to these collections. There is an element of truth in this statement, in that the systematic organization of excursions to museums, undertaken by various bodies such as the schools, the trade-unions, or the Pioneers, for example, has brought about a

more general interest in the museums, particularly among the mature workmen and peasants. Thus the masses visit museums in larger numbers and the visits of the individual workman or peasant are more frequent than was the case before the Revolution.

These excursions are part of the political-education work of the Soviets and represent another instance of the systematic organization of political propaganda and civic training. Thus the school programs are adapted to a very extensive use of the excursion method. There have been suggestions to base the whole program of study on excursions; and on the other hand, there have been protests against the amount of time and energy devoted to them. The general practice would seem to be the following: At the beginning of the school year a plan of excursions is worked out in connection with the themes of the programs of study. Thus there is preparation for each excursion: material is collected in the course of the excursion, the pupils at least making note of their impressions. Then there is the working-over of the material and the collective summarizing of the excursion by discussion. In educational work among the mature peasants and workmen, the excursions have proven very popular and have been utilized even more extensively than in the programs of the regular schools. The excursion has become part of the holiday activity of the trade-unions. The excursion method has been applied to the rural districts, to widen the cultural horizon of the peasants, and particularly to bring them into direct contact with the economic methods and political ideas of the industrial centers. The political courses in the Red army are supplemented by excursions of all types. Sports and athletics are also promoted by excursions; this side of excursion work will not be touched upon here, where the interest is in the use of the excursion for political propaganda and education. On the other hand, the excursions to other parts of the Soviet Union, and to other countries, which have also been organized on a rather extensive scale, are for the purpose of "the study of society," and their programs are worked out with this aim in mind.

The program of excursions of the Cult-Section (Cultural-Educational Section) of the Moscow Soviet of Trade-Unions is the best illustration of the broad scope of the so-called "excursion work." This program is prominently posted in all clubs and also in public institutions. The large sheet, in black and red, carries two mottoes of the trade-union movement: "The Trade-Union Is the School of Communism" and "The Workmen's Club Is the Forge of Proletarian Consciousness." Each set of excursions is grouped under a heading. The

first heading is "Trade-Union Movement," and here the Museum of Trade-Unions mentioned above, with its section on the History of Trade-Unions, is recommended. The headquarters of the Cult-Section itself and the Central Trade-Union Library for Workmen are also listed. Under "Production and Technique" are noted a Polytechnical Museum, a Central Institute of Labor, and the Psycho-Technical Laboratory of the Commissariat of Labor, which represent the main centers for the study of what is called "the scientific organization of labor." Then follows a list of the recommended factories for each branch of industry; there are over seventy factories named here, and they include the largest and most important enterprises of the capital.

For processes of building and construction, the Tverskaya Street is recommended for the excursionists. Here large new structures for a central post-office and for the Institute of Lenin were being completed at the date of this program. The three large radio stations of Moscow and the water-pumping station for the city are the next items on the list. In this section the last heading is "Agriculture"; the two "peasants' homes" with exhibits of village types of construction, a special Agricultural Academy, a dairy, a butter factory, and a Veterinary Institute are recommended.

Under "Study of Nature" with the corollary subjects of astronomy and biology, an observatory, a biological museum, a zoölogical museum, the Darwin Museum, and the zoölogical and botanical gardens are indicated as objectives for excursions. For the study of the "Protection of Health of Toilers," exhibitions and museums on public health and social hygiene are listed and a crematorium is also included. For "Physical Culture," there is a special institute on "all forms of sport and physical exercise and the hygiene of physical culture," and the large stadium on Lenin Hills on the outskirts of the city is recommended as the best-equipped center of sports and athletics. "Protection of Labor and Social Insurance" may be studied at a special museum devoted to this subject. "Economic Geography" calls for the study of the planning of the city of Moscow from the roofs of several high buildings and from the Lenin Hills overlooking the city. The Kremlin is also visited in this study of the city-planning of Moscow. The Red Square represents a historical fact rather than an economic one, but it is included in this part of the list of excursions. Museums are devoted to the public-utility enterprises of the capital and to the Moscow industrial center in general; the Home-Industry Museum illustrates the economic features of the Moscow region. The Polytechnical Museum, Historical Museum, and Ethnological Museum, and

the Ethnological Gallery, illustrate "the struggle of man with nature," "the resources and economic development of the Soviet Union," and "the peoples of the republics of the Soviet Union."

The section of this program of excursions designated as "History of Civilization" is of particular interest. The first division is on the "History of the Revolutionary Movement in Russia." The first institution named is the Moscow Museum of the Revolution, each division of which is indicated as a separate theme. The Military-Historical Museum covers the history of the old army, while the Museum of the Red Army and Fleet is devoted to the history of the new army and of the civil war. The only revolutionary leader other than Lenin for whom a separate museum has been set up in Moscow is Kropotkin. Two quarters of the city are made the themes of excursions on this division of "History of Civilization"; one is the center of the fighting of the December uprising of 1905, and the other is the Bolshevik center in the fighting of October, 1917. A Bolshevik underground printing establishment used in the revolution of 1905 has been preserved as a kind of museum.

The second division of the section on "History of Civilization" indicates two exhibitions to illustrate the revolutionary movement in Western Europe; these are the Exhibition of the Communist International, and the Exhibition of the Mopr, which is the Soviet branch of the International Society for Assistance to Revolutionaries. The third division of the "History of Civilization" is entitled the "Development of Social Forms." The Historical Museum mentioned above is the first institution recommended. A Museum of Fine Arts is devoted mainly to Egyptian and ancient civilization. One of the large monasteries on the outskirts of Moscow has been converted into a museum to illustrate the economic, social, and political rôle of the ancient monastery. Similarly the small town of Zvenigorod, to the west of Moscow, is used as a type of the city of the feudal period of the principalities. An aristocrat's house of the seventeenth century and a Museum of 1840–50 have been taken over from the old régime and utilized. Finally the Ethnological Gallery mentioned above is noted again under this heading.

"Questions of Soviet Law" come within the scope of excursion work. A Cabinet of Research and Museums on Criminology and Criminal Law Policy has been organized, and in addition there is a museum attached to the Moscow Department of Criminal Investigation. The next section of the program is "Co-operation." Any local co-operative store is suggested, and one of the largest of the workmen's co-

operative consumers' societies is specifically recommended. One of the largest municipal co-operative dining-rooms is named. A co-operative bakery and the factory "Bolshevik," which is a co-operative canning enterprise, are selected to illustrate co-operative production. The storehouses of the Centrosoyus show the rôle of the co-operatives as the channels of distribution between city and village. Finally, the co-operative of a suburban agricultural community illustrates how the co-operative enterprise functions in the village; the small agricultural suburb of Pushkino is designated as the nearest and best example.

Under the heading of "Questions of Everyday Life," the two peasants' homes already noted are again recommended. The art gallery in the Museum of the Trade-Union is also again designated, and the large co-operative dining-room, mentioned above, is listed a second time. A particular section of the Museum of Modern Russian Art contains pictures illustrating family costumes, and particularly the marriage ceremonies of pre-revolutionary Russia, and is included under this theme. Finally the Moscow Municipal Laundry, which is a product of the Revolution, is recommended as an example of the "new life."

In the section on "Art," the first emphasis is on the museum of modern Russian art, which is often called by its old name of Tretiakov Gallery. It was a gift to the city of Moscow from a rich merchant Tretiakov, made in the nineteenth century. In addition to the art collections already noted, the two museums on furniture and on porcelain and a special musium on Oriental civilizations are recommended. The Museum of Vasily the Blessed is the church on the Red Square built by John the Terrible; it is described here in this program as representing "the architecture of the epoch of the beginning of autocracy." Several of the theaters have small museums, and these are listed under the section on the "Theater." Also, the stage of the Moscow Art Theater is used to show the modern technique of the theater, while the Central House for Peasant Art has an exhibition of "simplified methods of stage-setting for workmen's and peasants' theaters." The only excursion point for the theme of "Literature" is the Tolstoy Museum. The program concludes with a section called "Military Propaganda," under which, for the third time, the Museum of the Red Army and Fleet is recommended.

Lectures and films have been prepared by the Cult-Section to supplement many of the items on this program of excursions. A workmen's club may secure here a film or a lecture at a nominal cost. The Cult-Section also helps clubs to work out a program of excursions for

the year or for a period of the year. The practice recommended is to have the excursion precede the lecture, or even the film, where they are on the same theme; the lecture and film then represent a demand on the basis of the interest developed by the excursion. The other order is also followed, where the excursion is suggested by the film or lecture and is made to supplement the latter. In the schools, the general practice is to prepare for the excursion by a talk and discussion in the classroom, although the study and discussion of the subject after the excursion are also emphasized as part of the report prepared by the children.

"Guides" are published for the various types of excursions. In some instances museums have their own official guides: but there are series of small, pamphlet-form guides of various grades prepared for the use of leaders of excursion groups, and also for the use of the individual who wishes to make a visit to a museum or institution on his own initiative. One set of these guides has been prepared by the Moscow Soviet of Trade-Unions, and from this series one may note the general character of the guides. The political-propaganda element is always present in the explanations and in suggestions as to what to note. For example, in an excursion to a group of suburban villages, the workmen are to note the houses where the landlords or merchants formerly lived and to see how they have been converted into sanitoria and rest homes for workmen and peasants. The excursionists are to study the economic organization of a suburb, and also to note in a general way how its trade with the city is carried on. So one of the most important lessons to be drawn from the excursion is that under the old régime the peasants were exploited by the landlord and the capitalist, while under the new régime they are in political and economic alliance with the workmen.

Near Moscow is the incompleted former imperial estate of Tsaritsyno, built by Catherine the Great. The buildings show the plan of a country estate, and the place is used for excursions of Moscow workmen and the peasants of the neighborhood. In the small pamphlet guide issued for this excursion the theme is: The Autocratic Tsar as the First Landlord of the Land," and the following introductory interpretation is given:

The supporters of the monarchical order constantly assert that the tsarist autocratic authority was not a class authority; the tsar, it is claimed, was above all classes, was independent, and represented in his person the highest justice. In studying the policy of the tsars, we see clearly that this was not true; the rule of the tsar, by its origin, interests,

and practices, was always the rule of the propertied classes and, first of all, of the landed nobility. And this is not all. One has only to note the manner of life of the Russian autocrats, the kind of people who surrounded them, the ways in which they spent their time, and their tastes, pleasures, and thoughts, and immediately it will be clear that this rule was alien to the toiling masses, resting, as it did, on the class régime of the landlords and building its welfare on the exploitation of the labor of the people. A trip to Tsaritsyno will make these statements clear to you.

The preservation of several of the palaces of the former Tsar as museums, without any changes in the arrangement of the rooms, strikes one as somewhat incongruous until one learns of the use to which they are being put. Through the excursions to these palaces the workmen and peasants are shown how their former rulers lived. To the educated visitor, the favorite living-rooms of the late Tsar are impressive not so much in their luxury as in the commonplace character of the furniture and pictures. The private library of the Tsar is described by those who have glanced over it as containing trivial and superficial types of books, the cheaper sort of novel being very much in evidence. It is undoubtedly a source of satisfaction to the workman or peasant to penetrate these intimate quarters of their former rulers; the complete overthrow of the old order is thus strongly impressed on their minds. It should be noted that many of the old imperial palaces have been used for administrative purposes, or more generally as sanatoria and rest homes for workmen.

Several of the most famous estates of the former landed nobility have been similarly preserved as historical monuments, but also for the purpose of showing to the workmen and peasants how their former "exploiters" lived. At some of these estates men of letters of the old régime did their writing, and the interpretation given is that the pre-revolutionary literature was under the control and at the service of the bourgeoisie.

The museums of modern Russian art lend themselves to the political educational aims of the excursion work. In the great masterpieces of the various schools and periods of modern Russian art there is rich material on Russian history and on the conditions of life of pre-revolutionary Russia. The workmen and peasants are supplied with "instructors," as are also the school children. These guides either explain the pictures or bring out discussion of them by questions. Listening in on a group of school children who were discussing a picture of a village scene, the writer was interested to note that the various class types were picked out—the landlord, the peasant, the priest, and the

policeman. It was a picture of the arrest of a group of peasants; the title of the picture did not indicate clearly the reason or occasion for the arrest. One small boy pointed out that "the police were arresting the peasants to please the landlord"; he had learned well the Communist formula of the rôle of the governmental authority under a "bourgeois" order.

The practice of interpreting the picture of an art gallery in terms of the Revolution would seem to be very common; it was more than a chance example that was met on this visit to the famous Moscow Gallery of Modern Russian Art. If the guide books for the galleries are not prepared on the basis of Marxian principles, at least they reflect always the Communist interpretation. Thus one guide, in an introduction, outlines the periods of Russian painting. "Art in the Service of the Aristocracy" is the heading for the period when portrait-painting predominated. The beginning of realism and then of "peasantism" is noted. Special attention is called to the fact that there was criticism of the existing order. The pictures also are grouped in the guide by "social classes": in the works of the eighteenth century one has the "diggers for gold, rank and decorations." Then there are the pictures of "Russia of the Landed Nobility," and of the life of the estate. Gradually a few idyllic representations of the peasants appear, but the merchant and the official are the predominant subjects. Attention is called to the "negative features" to be noted in the pictures of priests. At last, toward the end of the century, one has the first appearance in art of the workman and the urban proletariat. This last item in the classification suggests the sentence: "The peasantry and the workmen are the bases for the building of the future."

The museum of the Revolution is the most frequented of the museums; here particularly, there is the stimulus of excursions. The Moscow Museum of the Revolution, with its thirty or more rooms, is the most important of this type of institution. It has eight main departments classified as follows: Peasant Uprisings and the Decembrists; Peasantism; Circles of Workmen before the Mass Revolution; Revolution of 1905; February to October, 1917; Struggle for the Conquests of the October Revolution (the Civil War); The History of the Communist Party; and V. A. Lenin, Leader of the Proletariat. The writer made several visits to study the historical material of this collection, and on each occasion there were seen many and large groups of excursionists of peasants, men and women, of Red army soldiers, and of school children of all ages. The revolutionary movement is traced section by section from the peasant disorders of the seven-

teenth century to the October revolution of 1917. Stenka Razin, a leader of uprisings of serfs in the seventeenth century, and Pugachev, the peasant leader of the late eighteenth century, are the first heroes of revolution here commemorated. The Decembrists of 1825 are also given a place, although they were all of the nobility class and their movement was not of a popular or mass character. The "peasantist" movement of the sixties and seventies seemed to be rather inadequately represented. But the proletarian movement, which started in the eighties, and the first workmen's organization are fully illustrated by pictures of the organizers and samples of the literature published and distributed. The revolution of 1905 is given a separate and very full section, and the Bolshevik faction of that period receives very considerable emphasis. The last two sections of the Museum are on the Communist party and on Lenin, and it is fair to say that the history of the Communist party is made the basis of the history of the Revolution, as in the programs and textbooks used in the schools for the subject of "political grammar."

In the same building with the museum of the Revolution is the Exhibition of the Communist International, which is designed to show the spread of the world revolutionary movement. Charts give the membership of "legal" and "illegal" Communist groups in the fifty-four countries of the world where such already exist. Specimens of the literature published by the Communist International are arranged on shelves by languages. Each of the congresses of the Communist International is analyzed statistically and recorded by photographs and pictures. The important second congress is the subject of an enormous painting. The guide carefully pointed out the face of the American John Reed to the Americans. There was an interesting device for showing revolutionary developments since the World War. On a large transparent screen is a map of Western Europe. At the side of the screen is a lever which can be moved to points on a dial. When the lever is put at "Monarchies Overthrown," a toppling crown appears, illumined from behind, at the capitals of Berlin, Vienna, and Leningrad. When the lever is put at "Strikes," Red flags will shine out at many points on the map. On the dial is a point marked "Soviets Set Up"; although the number of Red flags with the emblems of the hammer and sickle that appear when the lever is brought to this point is smaller than was that of the "Strikes," it makes a very respectable showing on the transparency. The last point on the dial is "Establishment of a Soviet Government"; and when the lever is set at this point.

a red star appears at the capitals of the national units of the Soviet Union, and also in Hungary and Bavaria.

The museums of the Red Army and Navy are also historical museums of the Revolution. Printed and other material illustrate the founding of the Red army and navy and their rôles in the Revolution. The history of the Red army in the first year of the Revolution and in the civil and foreign wars of 1918–20 is one of the subjects in the political courses in the Red army and in the studies of "political grammar" in the special schools for Communists. These museums therefore serve for the excursions organized in connection with these studies, particularly of the Red army soldier. But workmen and peasants also visit these museums, which are on the list of the institutions to be used in the political educational work. The Pioneers are frequently taken to these museums. It will be noted presently that one of the "days" of the Soviet calendar is the Day of the Red Army; the museums are used in the preparation for the celebration of that day in the schools and other institutions. One room of the Moscow Museum of the Red Army and Navy is on the subject of the activity of the revolutionary tribunals of the first years of "struggle against counter-revolution, banditry, and economic thefts" to quote from an official guide. Here is exhibited a "human glove," the skin of the hand alleged to be that of a Red army soldier tortured by the Whites during the fighting in the Urals. There are many pictures of alleged tortures inflicted on Red army soldiers and Communists by the officers of Kolchak and Denikin, and particularly by the partisan bands in Turkestan.

The Museum of the Trade-Unions situated in the Palace of Labor, which is the central headquarters of the entire Soviet trade-union movement, contains original material in the form of publications of the workmen's movement before and since the Revolution. Diagrams and tables give the history of the attempts at organization before the Revolution and of the rapid growth of the movement since the Revolution. It is not a particularly interesting exhibition except to the student of the subject. In the museum is a section on Labor Art; the trade-unions have acquired former and contemporary paintings illustrative of labor processes and conditions and have brought them together in this permanent exhibition. The Exhibition of Protection of Maternity and Infancy, which is also in the Palace of Labor and under the direction of the trade-union authorities, gives the survey of what the Revolution has done in the interests of the mother and the child. It also organizes the propaganda of individual and social hy-

giene and serves this aim in part by being on the list of excursion points.

In this same connection may be explained somewhat more fully the Museum of Social Hygiene mentioned in the introductory enumeration of types of museums. These institutions, with central headquarters and local branches in different parts of a large city and in the smaller provincial cities, prepare exhibitions of wax figures, pictures, charts, and lantern slides of epidemic, industrial, and venereal diseases. This material is open to the public, and is also sent out to such institutions as clubs and reading-rooms as part of a general propaganda of hygiene and health measures. The central distributing points are primarily institutions of research and study. However, through excursions a large number of workmen and peasants, and also of students and pupils, are able to get the deeper impression given by the large exhibits of the directing Museum of Social Hygiene and its branches. These museums of social hygiene were formerly institutes of medical research. The former elective municipal and provincial councils (Zemstvo) did much in the field of public health, and the present institutions and part of the personnel were inherited from the old Zemstvo medical work. The Revolution has developed this work, and particularly has organized more extensively its propaganda side, the institution of excursions having contributed to the extension of its scope.

Ethnological collections receive particular attention in the organization of the excursion work. The Soviet Union is the "free union of many peoples," and the rights secured to national minorities and backward races represent one of the conquests of the Revolution. Excursions to museums showing the habits and costumes of the peoples brought together by the old Russian Empire and now included in the Soviet Union are used to emphasize the broad expanse of the Soviet system. The excursions organized during the summer months to different parts of the country have among their objects the study of the various races, and particularly of the non-Slav and non-Russian peoples which are independent or autonomous members of the Soviet Union.

The Revolution swept away in the most literal sense a considerable number of the old monuments on public squares, particularly of tsars and generals. Thus the statue in the Kremlin to Alexander II as the "Tsar-Liberator" of the serfs was taken down, but its setting remains, with the mosaic portraits of all the Russian tsars. Another outstanding example of the removal of a statue is that of General

Skobelev, whose monument occupied the center of the square opposite what came to be the headquarters of the Moscow Soviet. Here in the place of Skobelev, the "Representative of Tsarist Imperialism," a new monument to the Revolution has been erected, the "Obelisk of the Revolution," on the sides of which is given a sketch of the Soviet constitution. Statues of the earlier rulers, of Peter and Catherine for example, have been left because of their artistic value. In Leningrad the statue of Alexander III on the former Nevsky Prospect is still standing. This monument had been severely criticized before the Revolution; from the artistic point of view it was generally recognized to be a failure; also it made the sovereign appear distinctly coarse and even brutish in appearance. The reason for leaving this monument is given in the inscription added after the Revolution: "Here I stand like a brazen scarecrow for the country which has thrown off the yoke of autocracy."

The Imperial emblems on buildings were being removed already by the February revolution, and the October revolution carried the process on most systematically. However, one still sees the two-headed eagle on the top of spires, or in other places where removal would have spoiled the architectural beauty of the structure or was physically difficult. The emblems of the Revolution, the hammer and the sickle, have replaced the old Imperial insignia and are much more numerous and evident than were the latter. Monuments to Marx, Engels, and other early revolutionaries, and to leaders of the Russian Revolution who have died, and especially to Lenin, have been erected all over the country. In Communist circles, and particularly from Lenin's widow, there has been criticism of the large expenditures on these many monuments.

The excursion work has the aim of giving a cultural development in addition to the narrower aim of emphasizing political education, trade-union education, or co-operative education. The principle of Communist training is very much in the foreground in the conception and handling of all excursions, however. One motto which is frequently printed at the top of the large posters listing the excursions is a statement made by Lenin: "Only by acquiring the accumulated culture of mankind can you hope to become a Communist." The Historical Museum of Moscow, whose sections cover the early ages, and particularly the early periods of Russian history, is repeatedly recommended. The special collections of early church art and certain historic churches are also included in the programs. But both in the establishment of new museums and in the organization of the excur-

sions, the main emphasis is on contemporary life and on the principles of the Revolution and the problems of the building of the new socialist order.

The number of individuals actually reached by the excursion work has not been estimated except in very general terms. A workmen's club keeps a record and makes a report of the excursions that it has organized. The records of particular schools show the number of excursions for the given group of children. The patronage societies also keeps track of the excursions for which they are responsible. Museums sometimes publish statistics on visitors, indicating also the types of the excursions which have used their institution. No general figures were found which would give the basis to estimate the effective scope of the work, however.

The various types of excursions have been indicated in this chapter and also mentioned in connection with the discussion of other topics. Pupils and students visit museums, and also factories, villages, and administrative institutions. Workmen visit museums and villages and also various types of factories. Peasants visit particularly factories and collective enterprises as well as museums. Workmen and peasants, and also the young generation that is growing up, see the palaces and estates of the former rulers and propertied classes. While general cultural aims underlie the excursion work, the element of political propaganda is always present and often determines the emphasis in the case of each group. The school children must be brought into close contact with the processes of production. The peasants must be brought under the influence of proletarian and collectivist enterprises. The workmen are to determine the new proletarian culture, and at the same time they are to lead the peasantry in the field of cultural development. And all these groups must be made to note constantly, and to appreciate fully, the conquests of the Revolution and the tasks of the Revolution in the field of culture.

CHAPTER XI

SOVIET CELEBRATIONS AND CAMPAIGNS

It has been necessary to refer frequently to the celebration of revolutionary holidays and to the use of organized campaigns in illustration of the civic activity of Soviet organizations and institutions. Here the general character of celebrations under the Soviet system will be discussed. One Communist has characterized the Soviet holidays as the milestones in the workaday life, giving the rhythm of the year for the older people as well as for the young folks. In the effort to organize a new social order, holidays have the more specific purpose of helping to define its character. Campaigns secure mass action with respect to a given objective; and in the period of the building of a new order, where the tasks to be met are many and difficult, the method of mass drives is widely utilized. Celebrations and campaigns became part of the Revolution as a form of self-expression previously denied to the people, and also as part of the technique of revolutionary action. Through holidays and campaigns revolutionary enthusiasm is developed. As the Revolution itself begins to have its own history, now of over ten years, the celebration of certain dates of the calendar serves to commemorate achievement and give those who participated in the event the opportunity to recall its spirit and heroism. But more particularly, the celebration aims to bring home to those who did not participate the significance of the particular event and of the Revolution as a whole; the including of the young people and children in these celebrations is therefore a matter of special attention.

The Revolution was preceded by years of struggle. Within the present century there had been two periods to which the term "revolution" is applicable—of 1905 and of February, 1917. The Paris Commune of 1871 is considered the prototype of the Bolshevik revolution of October, 1917. So these dates in the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia would logically be noted for celebration, or at least for mention. Several distinctive features of the October revolution are illustrated in certain institutions, such as the Soviet Union itself or the Red army. The dates of the establishment of the Union and of the Red army therefore also stand out prominently in the revolutionary calendar. Prominent personalities are not ignored under

the Soviet system, and in fact are emphasized. Lenin is of course the outstanding example, and the date of his death is the most important holiday after that of the October revolution itself. But the dates of the death of other leaders, like Dzerzhinsky or Frunze, are also being commemorated by special meetings as well as special notice in the press. Marx and Engels, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, Sun Yat Sen, or the American Communist, John Reed, will be the central theme of discussion or articles on a particular day of the year, although no general celebration will be organized. Birthdays of prominent leaders are occasionally noted. The editors of calendars for Communists, and particularly for Young Communists and Pioneers, have been able to find for notation on each day of the year one or more events of the Revolution and also of the revolutionary movements in other countries.

One of the objects of the celebration of revolutionary events is to overshadow and gradually eliminate the celebrations which are associated with the old régime. Practically all of these were religious holidays; the saint's day of the Tsar, for example, was celebrated more formally than his birthday, in accordance with the custom of the Greek Orthodox church. This was practically the only political holiday of the old régime, and it was at the same time the religious holiday of Saint Nicholas. There were many religious holidays in the old Russia, in addition to those of Easter and Christmas; and they had become very firmly imbedded in the consciousness of the people, especially of the peasants. It has not been found possible or expedient to suppress these religious holidays although they have been considerably reduced in number. Many are even observed to the extent of closing all governmental institutions. But other activities are organized on such days, particularly for the children, although work is not forbidden on these days as it is in the case of certain revolutionary holidays. Often it is possible, through coincidence in time, to oppose a revolutionary to a religious celebration; in 1924 the Greek Easter fell on the international labor day of May 1, and direct competition could be effectively organized. The slogan "Komsomol Easter" was adopted, but later dropped as tending to create the impression that the Young Communists wished to establish a special Soviet Easter.

The list of the legal holidays given in an official guide for foreigners shows the contrast between the two kinds of holidays, and at the same time the fact of the retention of many religious holidays. January 1 is the New Year also for the Soviets, although the economic year is reckoned from October 1. January 21 is Lenin Day, the

date of the death of the leader; and January 22 is the date of the Bloody Sunday of 1905, when the demonstration of workmen before the winter palace was dispersed by armed forces. March 12 is the date of the February, 1917, revolution under the Gregorian calendar which was adopted in 1918; it marks the fall of the Tsarist régime. March 18 is the day of the Paris Commune of 1871. Holy Saturday, Easter Sunday, and Easter Monday come according to the church calendar. Then follows the International May 1. The Ascension, Whitsunday, and Whitmonday are the next religious holidays. July 5 is the date of the adoption, in 1923, of the constitution of the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics; this is Constitution Day, and is one of the bigger holidays. Two religious holidays then follow, the Transfiguration and the Assumption. November 7 and 8 are the most important political holidays of the year, being the anniversary of the October revolution; the change to the Gregorian calendar brought the celebration into November, although it is always spoken of as the "October revolution." The Soviet holiday calendar ends, as does that of the outside Christian world, with Christmas; and December 26 also is made a legal holiday, to conform with the prerevolutionary practice. These are the legal holidays on which all institutions discontinue work. In addition, many other dates are commemorated by the whole community or by particular groups. All of these special days cannot be included here; only the more general and important will be noted, such as the International Youth Day, Workwoman Day, Harvest Day, and Red Army Day. For the weekly day of rest required by the Soviet labor code, Sunday has been generally adopted throughout the Soviet Union.

In an *Almanac for Communists* these legal holidays are more distinctly classified under three headings. There are first the "revolutionary days of rest," which are Bloody Sunday of January 22, the February revolution of 1917, the day of the Paris Commune, the International first of May, and the two days of the "proletarian revolution" (November 7 and 8). New Years, Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, Whitmonday, Transfiguration, and Assumption are called "traditional days of rest"; and the dates only are noted, to avoid using the religious terminology. Then there are the "anniversaries," which are designated as "workmen's days." There is the "day of mourning" for the death of Lenin on January 21. The other days are those of the Red army, of workingwomen, of the Lena Shooting, of the workman press, and of the constitution of the Soviet Union; finally there is the International Youth Day. Bloody Sunday of January,

1905, is considered the introductory event of the revolution of 1905. The day of the Red army is that of its founding, in 1918, by the introduction of obligatory military service. The day of workingwomen is an international day, which was established as early as 1910 by an international conference of women socialists at Copenhagen to further the cause of woman suffrage. The Lena shooting took place during a strike in the Lena gold fields in 1911, when the intervention of the military authorities led to the killing of scores of the striking workmen; at the time this tragic event aroused protests from the conservative as well as the liberal elements of the country. The day of the workman's press is the date of the founding of the newspaper *Pravda*, in 1910; from that time the title *Pravda* became the trade-mark of the Bolshevik and later of the Communist party organs. The International Youth Day was instituted in 1915 by the left-wing members of the II International as a protest against the latter's attitude toward the World War. The general character of the other anniversaries is clear from their names.

Two rather different types of celebrations are illustrated by the Soviet Union Day and Harvest Day. Soviet Union Day is the date of the formal adoption of the constitution of the Soviet Union on July 5, 1923. It is the most important and the only political legal holiday of the summer months. In a large book of 250 pages published by the Commissariat of Education's Main Section on Political Education, the significance of the day is brought out in a preface of slogans, of which the first is: "The Day of the U.S.S.R. (Union of Socialist Soviet Republics)—the holiday of the constitution of the first proletarian state." A constitution is defined as "the fundamental law of the class which is in power." Asserting that all constitutions from the beginning of history have been "the law of the union of landlords and capitalists against workmen and peasants" or "the law of oppression and enslavement by 'civilized' capitalism of small and backward peoples," this textbook for the celebration of the constitution of the Soviet Union defines the latter as the "fundamental law of the union of the workmen and peasants of one-sixth of the territory of the world." This constitution "also extends its power beyond the frontiers of the Soviet Union," it is explained: "The Soviet constitution calls on the German workmen to fight against their own landlords and capitalists and those of other countries, ... and inspires Chinese textile-workers to struggle against Japanese imperialism." Within the territory of the Soviet Union the constitution has established "the fraternal union of all peoples" to replace the "prison

of peoples of tsarist Russia, the Russia of the policeman and the priest." The status of national minorities under the Soviet system and the extension of the Soviet system beyond its present territorial confines are the main themes to be discussed on the celebration of this holiday. As the schools are not in session, the centers of celebrations are the clubs in the cities and the reading-rooms in the villages. The various circles are asked to prepare special contributions for the wall-newspaper with emphasis on the nationality question; and on the day itself a general meeting is held, with reports and discussions on the significance of the establishment of the Soviet Union.

The Harvest Day was the idea of the Komsomol, and its celebration was started by the latter in 1923. In its original conception it was, in part at least, antireligious in character; the Young Communists organized their celebrations to emphasize that good harvests come from scientific methods of agriculture and not from the observance of the saints' days of the church calendar. For the first year the character of the celebration was that of an "agitation campaign," as it is called. There were meetings, with words of greeting from Communist and Soviet leaders, and processions with banners and posters. Only Komsomol members participated, and the rest of the village remained mere spectators. The following year the party and civic organizations and individual peasants joined in; and when the new holiday was celebrated for the third time, it had become a general village affair, and more educational in character. Agricultural exhibitions were organized; the cantonal Soviet, the co-operative societies, and the Peasant Mutual Assistance Societies used the occasion to make reports on their activity at the conclusion of another agricultural year.

One writer suggested that Harvest Day was the "saint's day" celebration for the agronomist and his propaganda work, when exhibitions of agricultural products were organized. In some places the celebration became a medium also of general political propaganda. The school and the village reading-room with their circles came forward also, to exhibit their activities and achievements in the fields of general education and of political education. This development of the observance of the Harvest Day, by which the emphasis is on work and accomplishment rather than on joy and triumph, is welcomed by the Komsomol leaders who started the idea. The aim is to increase the importance of this rural holiday by preparing for it more systematically and by increasing the exhibits from individual peasants. The exhibition feature of the celebration is to be used also to show the su-

periority of collective over individual forms of agriculture. The cooperatives are to exhibit not only the external side of their work but also "what they have done in the fight against private capital."

International Youth Day comes in early September before the fall opening of the schools. The week preceding is International Children's Week and is given over to the recruiting of new members by the Pioneers and to the resumption of activity by the Komsomol units after the summer, when circles and other activities are greatly reduced. Clubs in schools and for Pioneers and Komsomol are reopened. Then on International Youth Day all the children and youth of the two Communist organizations march and hold meetings. In Moscow the processions on this day represent one of the largest marching events of the year. It was estimated that some 200,000 children and youth participated in the procession in 1926. All morning the line passed into the Red Square, to the Lenin Mausoleum, where each group halted and stood at attention. The Pioneers repeated their "solemn promise" to follow the precepts of Lenin, while new members made the "solemn promise" required as part of the ceremony of admission. Outstanding Communist leaders and prominent representatives of the government were on the reviewing-stand above the Mausoleum. This holiday is the most important political celebration for the children and youth and marks the resumption of school work. Through the banners and slogans prepared by the Komsomol and Pioneer leaders, the children and young people are reminded of their part and rôle in the Revolution and of the Communist training which they must acquire.

In the discussion of the programs and methods of instruction in the Soviet schools, the utilization of the revolutionary holidays will be noted. The approaching holiday often serves as the theme of the next project for study, and two to three weeks are devoted to the preparation for the more important celebrations. In the primers for the first year of the primary schools the child is gradually prepared to meet properly the Lenin day, by stories on Lenin's childhood and study methods. The first revolutionary holiday of the academic year is the anniversary of the Revolution itself, on November 7 and 8. The children of the first two years and of the kindergartens no longer actually participate in the processions and meetings organized for that day; it was decided that the marching was too much of a strain and that attendance at a mass meeting bored the child. But the teacher arranges a session at the school, which will be at least an incident in the life of the child for that period of the year. Then, when the child

reaches the third year, he will participate directly in the celebration in the school, in the Pioneer brigade, and also in the general processions which characterize the larger Soviet holiday celebrations.

For the child particularly, the aim of counteracting religious holidays is one of the objects of the revolutionary celebration. The revolutionary holiday is to satisfy the same emotions which are aroused by participation in a religious holiday, such as Easter or Christmas or by attendance at church. It is, at the same time, to create new emotions based on new principles. The holiday is linked up closely with the school work, through the reader or the preparation of banners and slogans for the decoration of the schoolroom or to carry in the procession. The earlier idea of celebrating the particular event by marching, or at least by a mass meeting, is giving way to an emphasis on the preparation for the holiday. Often the children were made to listen to long historical reports and sing the songs of their parents. It is recommended that short, concrete conclusions be presented to the children, through personal reminiscences when possible, and that the children prepare dramatic performances which will emphasize the political content of the particular holiday. The schedule of celebrations for the children has been worked out with greater care. It was found that there were too many occasions in the life of the school, with too much time devoted to preparation for and participation in these celebrations. Some dates and events are now simply noted in the regular classroom work and are thus celebrated very modestly and moderately.

The holidays and campaigns are one of the effective means for establishing a closer relationship between the school and surrounding life. The children join with their elders in the celebration and thus acquire the habit of this form of civic activity. The school in a rural community may even be the center of organization of a celebration, and thus positively assume a civic function as the cultural center which helps the surrounding community to understand the significance of a particular political event. In addition, a revolutionary festival gives the school the opportunity to summarize its achievements and report on them to the community which it serves. This active participation helps the children to understand the new social order and makes them feel that they are contributing to the building of socialism. Thus the "feeling of the class struggle will be strengthened." For in the case of the children also, the celebration is always interpreted as mass action to reach a particular objective which can be attained only by struggle. The slogans on the banners carried in all Soviet parades not

only explain what is to be constructed; they also point out what is to be destroyed. So side by side with "Long live" one meets "Down with," and often the latter predominates.

The content and method of celebration of the larger revolutionary festivals have been elaborated in detail for practically every type of institution or organization. Special manuals and textbooks explain in detail how to carry out the celebration in the clubs; the reading-rooms; the Pioneer brigade; the Communist or Komsomol cell; higher, secondary, or primary educational institutions; children's homes; and so forth. Several of these many manuals have been used and quoted in the preparation of this summary. For the schools and for the celebration of Lenin Day the literature has been prepared with particular care and graded for the various classes and ages. Diagrams for posters to be made by the children and songs appropriate for each occasion are furnished in publications by the party, Komsomol, and educational publishing departments. It has not been possible to do more than note the fact of this extensive literature and look into several types of it. There is, for example, a very large number of "agitation-plays" on the themes of the Soviet holidays, for the use of dramatic circles of workmen, peasants, soldiers, and children.

Before the date of one of the larger holidays—in some cases, several weeks in advance—the newspapers will begin to prepare for the celebration. In the directing organs of government and party, the officially and formally adopted slogans will be printed, and articles will discuss the occasion from the point of view of the tasks confronting the government and the party. The mass newspapers will take the same line. The newspapers of the trade-unions will stress the interest and participation of trade-unionists in general or of each particular trade-union. For the village celebrations, such as that of the Harvest Day, the village school teachers and agricultural experts are coached, in the newspapers published by their authorities, on the special rôle of leadership which they are to play. In preparation for the International Youth Day, the large directing newspapers give almost as much space to the discussion of the celebration as do the official organs of the Komsomol and Pioneers, who are the main active participants in this celebration. The whole Soviet press is mobilized for the task of preparation for a holiday. On the holiday itself the newspapers will devote much space, and sometimes practically the whole number, to the subject of celebration, with articles by the leaders of party and government.

The celebration of a revolutionary holiday is the occasion for the

review of old, and the adoption of new, slogans. To be practicable for use on banners or as headlines the slogan must be short; for effectiveness the slogan must be concise. It was a source of great strength to the Bolsheviks in the preparation for the October revolution to have such slogans as "All Power to the Soviets" or "Peace, Land, and Bread." During the first years the slogans continued to be short and precise; only a few "fighting" slogans, directed against landlords and capitalists, were necessary, and these were applicable to practically all occasions. With the development of more complicated, and at the same time general, tasks, in the economic as well as in the military and political fields, the slogans have become more numerous and complex. They issue from the Central Committee of the party, or from that of the Komsomol. The trade-unions formally adopt their slogans. A certain amount of individual initiative in the formulating of slogans is possible in the preparation of banners, by party or Komsomol cells, or by the circles of workmen's clubs or other institutions. These simpler and often more forceful forms of the slogans must keep to the general wording of the official editions.

The tenth anniversary of the October revolution in 1927 was an event of particular importance, and the slogans were prepared with a view to summarizing the achievements of the ten years of the Soviet régime. The Communist party's list contained ninety-three slogans, and some of them were long and involved sentences. However, a careful reading of this list, which was published in practically all of the newspapers several weeks before the day of the celebration, gave one a very complete picture, by chapter headings, of the achievements already claimed and of the tasks still confronting the party members. The slogans formally adopted by the Central Committee of the Komsomol also constituted a very complete political platform. The very character of the celebration of Soviet holidays, with mass processions, has given to the slogan added importance, also tending to keep it a battle-cry rather than an exposition of principles. The use of the slogan in political celebrations has recently received a new development. Instead of the banner with motto, many organizations have worked up modest floats or small mechanical devices carried on foot by a small group, in illustration of a slogan. Some of these devices have been very ingenious, the slogan depicted being readily recognizable.

For the 1926 May first anniversary of International Day of Workmen, the Soviet Trade-Union International, which assumes direction of the celebration in the Soviet Union, issued seventeen slogans, each one of which started with the word "struggle"; the strug-

gle for these seventeen points was to constitute the program of activity of the trade-unions belonging to this organization initiated by Moscow. These slogans were given out three weeks in advance so that the banners for the processions, the reports, and the dramatic performances to be used in the celebration could be prepared. The struggle was to be first against any lengthening, directly and indirectly, of the hours of work; for state insurance; against fascist monopoly of trade-union organization; and for complete freedom of organization; and so forth—the "for" and "against" alternating. The final "for" was "the establishment of a single and class International embracing the trade-unions of all countries, races, and continents."

The need for an outward expression of feeling is recognized by the Communists as strong and lawful, among the older people as well as among younger people and children. The staging of revolutionary holidays has been carefully studied out and rather elaborately arranged. The red emblems of the Revolution always give a bright and colorful picture to the street and the buildings or the hall and stage. The Communists have shown unusual ability in stage-setting, and they have not hesitated to use the dramatic factor to give to their celebrations a greater emotional value. The banners with their slogans, and the flags with their emblems, represent the main symbolism in the celebration of the revolutionary festivals. Revolutionary symbolism seems to mean to the Communists mainly the carnival-like presentation of political and economic slogans, the organization of mass pageants on public squares or the use of burning questions of the day as the theme of plays staged in clubs and reading-rooms. That the masses may understand and better absorb the reports and agitational exhortations, these are translated into the language of figures. One group of artists during the first period of the Revolution took the view that art should have the sole object of contributing to the beauty of revolutionary celebrations, and they devoted themselves exclusively to this task and with great success. The songs of the Revolution are also part of the symbolism of celebration. For the Pioneers, there is the special salute which has been described, and the children have their insignia of membership. But for the others, slogans on banners or floats, and songs, are the forms of expression in processions or meetings.

For the Communists and the Komsomol members the revolutionary celebrations are practically the only festive occasions. The wedding ceremony is reduced to a simple registration, which takes only a few minutes and has no ceremonial side. A Soviet christening has been devised, where the child is submitted to the Factory Committee, on

whose formal resolution it is admitted to Soviet citizenship. A number of instances of such ceremonies have been reported in the Soviet press, and parents are urged to adopt this practice. At several Soviet christenings the child was given the name "October" or "Lenin." On the other hand, the funeral of a prominent leader in many respects resembles a political celebration. At the funeral of the less conspicuous comrade the use of the Red flag and the emphasis on political activity in the words spoken at the interment give the occasion a more everyday character. The old Russian custom of notices in the newspaper is continued; but instead of the stricken relatives, the party committee or the Soviet institution announces the loss of a co-worker.

Marching in procession is particularly promoted in the celebration of a holiday. Thus the individual actually takes part in the celebration, and by mass participation the whole community is put into the spirit of the occasion. Processions became a particularly popular form of activity also because they were practically forbidden under the old régime. The only processions which could be organized before the Revolution were funeral processions, and on several occasions these had been used for political purposes because of the prohibition on demonstrations of any kind. The first revolution of February, 1917, had started the practice of large mass demonstrations and processions; during the first months they were almost weekly affairs, every Sunday witnessing a marching of some large group for some particular purpose. The Communists adopted the marching as a method of political action and later for the celebration of victories on the revolutionary front. This procedure gave to the political action or to the celebration the significance of a mass movement. The Soviet holidays bring larger crowds into the accompanying processions than those of other systems. It was announced that in the marching on the occasion of the tenth anniversary in November, 1927, 1,000,000 came out on the streets in Moscow and 800,000 in Leningrad.

There is difference of opinion as to the spontaneity of the participation in these mass parades. The marchers come out by organizations and institutions, always under the leadership of the Communists, the Young Communists, or the Pioneers of the institution or group. It is said that these leaders also note carefully the fact of abstention on the part of individuals; where the participation is organized by these small groups, failure to take part will be apparent or can be easily verified if it is desired to do so. The Communists deny that there is any compulsion exercised to bring out the enormous crowds which always march on the days of the big holidays, and point

to this mass participation as the best proof of the development of a conscious Soviet democracy.

One hears frequent complaint from individual and older members of the intelligentsia of the frequency of the celebrations. The method of organization in the party or trade-union, by which there is a central authoritative body in constant direction of the whole membership, makes it possible for the small group at the head to adopt a policy of participation which will mean practically obligation on all members. This would apply particularly to the Komsomol or the Pioneers. The decision to participate will be taken in such a way that no lower unit can fail to respond. To judge from the faces and spirit of the marchers whom the writer had occasion to see, the crowds had come out because they wanted to; or in any case, having come out, they were enjoying themselves to the full. The occasions were in the summer and early autumn, it is true, and on these days the weather was good. The processions had meant a cessation from work, and the vacation spirit was reflected in the faces and voices. The Russians have always enjoyed group singing, and the marching is generally accompanied by songs and even group dancing during long halts. In the capital of Moscow there are probably more military bands than in any city in the world, and these are always in the celebrations, adding to the music of the singing. Here one should note that the Revolution has produced its songs, the music of some of which is particularly stirring.

On the question of the spontaneity of the Soviet mass processions and street demonstrations, the instance of the mass protests on the occasion of the rupture of the British-Soviet diplomatic relations in 1927 is in point. The demonstrations took place in provincial towns as well as in Moscow and Leningrad. They came almost simultaneously with the news of the raid on the Soviet Trade Mission and of the assassination of the Soviet ambassador at Warsaw. Thus they were not worked up by the press, by articles and headlines on the subject, for days or even weeks in advance. However, although it is impossible to analyze precisely just how these demonstrations were organized or developed, one cannot fail to recall the discipline and centralization of the party and its Komsomol and Pioneers, and the rôle of leadership which the Communists and their reserves exercise in every organized group. Initiation of action by Communists can be secured quickly and easily through the closely articulated system of party committees.

Practically all larger celebrations in Moscow culminate in the procession to the tomb of Lenin. The Lenin Mausoleum also is the princi-

pal tribune in the Soviet Union, and the celebrations always include speeches by outstanding leaders from this tribune. The enormous Red Square is equipped with amplifiers so that the speeches can be heard distinctly by the entire crowd, which often numbers many tens of thousands. These speeches are also sent out by wireless to other cities. It is the hope that with the development of broadcasting the speeches made at the Lenin Mausoleum will be heard all over the Soviet Union.

The revolutionary funeral of a prominent leader has the character of a revolutionary celebration. The contribution of the late comrade to the cause of the Revolution will be the main subject of the speeches at the grave, so that the funeral exercises take on the aspect of a political meeting. Almost every year the Revolution has lost one or more of its leaders, so that these revolutionary funerals add to the list of Soviet celebrations. The Russian custom of paying respect by marching behind the body is followed, and the funeral of a prominent leader becomes a mass procession. The body is carried in an open bier by the immediate comrades; in this way the prominent figures of the government—Stalin, Kalinin, Rykov, and, until recently, Trotsky and Zinoviev—are seen by the population of the capital as they march to the Red Square, for the funerals of prominent leaders are held at Lenin's tomb, behind which there is the interment in a small park under the Kremlin Wall set aside for "the comradely graves."

Mass meetings are a product of the Revolution; like processions and street marching they were forbidden under the old régime or could be held only under strict limitations. During the first years of the Revolution meetings became almost epidemic; the plenary sessions of the Soviets were held frequently and set the example for meetings in general. There were meetings of all sorts and on all kinds of subjects; it was thus that the leaders reached the broad masses with their slogans and revolutionary programs. Gradually, however, the novelty of meetings wore off. Also the usefulness of the mass meeting came to be questioned by the leaders; the problems of economic reconstruction could not be solved by mass meetings, as Lenin constantly pointed out in the last years of his activity. However, mass meetings are still a feature of the Soviet system, and the celebration of a holiday is not considered complete without them. The Soviet will hold a plenary "solemn" meeting, with speeches and resolutions of greeting to the Red army on its day or to the Komsomol on International Youth Day. The local authority of the trade-unions will stage a general gathering for the active workers in the movement. In clubs, schools, and village reading-rooms, meetings with speeches and resolutions will be organ-

ized. On the recent tenth anniversary of the Revolution three days were set aside, so as to allow institutions and groups to hold their particular meetings during the period of celebration.

At these meetings the content of the speeches and resolutions follows in general the slogans put forward for the occasion. The achievements to date will be reviewed, and the plans for the next years outlined. To the outside reader there is a monotony in the reports of these meetings as they appear in the Soviet press. There is a marked uniformity, and there is not much variation from year to year except in the matter of emphasis; each year a particular side will be put forward according to the circumstances of the moment. This uniformity is useful, however, in that it generalizes the emphasis which has been decided upon by the leaders; a particularly important slogan may thus be brought before all groups systematically and, it would seem, also effectively.

In a school, club, or reading-room the character of the meeting may be altered from one of formal speeches to one which brings in an element of relaxation. Thus a dramatic performance, a mock trial, or a "political game" may be substituted for formal reports. Plays illustrating the slogans of the Revolution have been widely distributed for the use of the local dramatic circles of clubs and village reading-rooms. A group wishing to stage a mock trial will find a wide choice of outlines in the literature published to promote this form of activity, by the sections on "political education" of various organizations.

There is undoubtedly a tendency to get away from the big-meeting method of celebrating the revolutionary holidays. Suggestions have come from Communist leaders that the celebrations be given a deeper content. It is proposed to substitute for general slogans and general speeches, more detailed analysis of the essence of the October revolution and of its slogans and historical significance. In a higher educational institution, for instance, instead of a single large mass meeting there will be a series of small group meetings at which carefully prepared reports on various aspects of the Revolution will be worked up, by groups of students of each year and of each faculty of the institution. In this way, it is explained, the celebration will contribute to the understanding of the political and social problems of the moment, which are becoming more complicated from year to year. As one leader has said, the question in 1928 is: "Can we build socialism in one country?" while the question in the foreground in 1920 was: "Can we defeat Wrangel?"

Campaigns and drives may properly be discussed with revolution-

ary celebrations. For, like the latter, they aim to keep constantly before the people the tasks of the building of the new order. In a sense the period of the Revolution is an uninterrupted campaign, and the drives come according to program and at frequent intervals. Now one aspect of the struggle and now another will be emphasized. This gives a somewhat jerky character to life, but it keeps before the masses the aims of the new order and the policies and practices which are to be followed in its building.

Certain general features of Soviet campaigns and drives have already been noted in the discussion of the civic organizations. Thus membership drives are constantly being organized, a revolutionary event or a new development being utilized to bring forward the aims of the particular organization. Street and house-to-house collections are also very frequent. These drives for membership or subscriptions are accompanied by meetings; where it is a general subject, such as assistance to a revolutionary movement in another country, there will be meetings in practically all institutions. The whole press will concentrate on the subject; slogans will be published, and the leaders will appear and make statements at important meetings, which will be reported in the press. There was a campaign of this type during the British miners' strike of 1926. A campaign often means a long and protracted emphasis on a particular task. Some three years ago there was started the "régime of economy"; for months the subject was kept in the foreground, by discussion in meetings and in the press. The régime of economy is still constantly being mentioned, but for a long period it was the central theme. The floating of internal loans has been by general campaigns and drives. For the Industrialization Loan of 1927 the campaign for subscriptions was a very systematic one. In every enterprise the subscription lists were passed around, and meetings were held at which the importance of the program for industrialization was explained. The newspapers devoted columns to detailed descriptions of the success of the campaign, now in this factory or institution, now in another. Pictures were printed of workmen signing the application for a share of the loan.

Several years ago a militant antireligious campaign was initiated by the Komsomol. It assumed the usual forms of demonstrations, processions, meetings, mock trials, and dramatic performances. It was carried into the schools, and particularly into the homes for children. To oppose the Christmas tree, the fir tree was to be decorated with revolutionary emblems and slogans, and around it the "legends of religion were to be exposed," in reports and discussions or by parodies

on religious ceremonies. The campaign was unsuccessful, however; it served only to strengthen religious belief, in the children as well as in the older elements. Several instances came to notice where the children reacted to this campaign by showing more interest in religious matters. So the Young Communists, who had organized the campaign, were instructed to abandon such militant methods. The abandonment of procedure by campaign did not mean the abandonment of antireligious propaganda. It is interesting to note that the field of religion has been one where the direct militant approach, characteristic of Soviet methods, has been found inexpedient.

In the spring and summer of 1926 a considerable number of vicious attacks on women by gangs of young men called attention to the development of a tendency toward rowdyism, or "hooliganism," to use the word which Russian has borrowed from the English political vocabulary. There may not have been, in fact, an increase in general disorderly conduct or even of acts of violence. Nevertheless, the political leaders found it expedient to launch a campaign against "hooliganism" which continued for several months. Debates, meetings, discussions in clubs and village reading-rooms—all reported extensively in the press—brought the subject before the public as a burning issue of the moment. The word "hooliganism" was on the lips of everybody and in the columns of all publications. The trials of several gangs were held in large halls to accommodate a big audience and were reported in detail in all the newspapers. After several months the subject was gradually dropped, and one found practically no mention of it, or even of the word "hooliganism" which had swept across the country and become a byword in all communities. But for the period of the campaign there had been a concentration of public opinion on the problem.

Besides political holidays and campaigns, the Soviet system provides for the drawing of attention to attainments in science and technical development, and also to economic development. The Soviet calendar has therefore such weeks as Air-Fleet Week, Aviation-Chemistry Week, or Co-operative-Movement Week. During the week set aside for the particular subject, the latter will be discussed in the mass activities of clubs and village reading-rooms, with reports from the circle whose activity is related to the subject. On these occasions membership in the societies interested in the field will be solicited. The newspapers emphasize the subject by articles and editorials. In the schools the subject is brought up in the classroom or in the clubs or circles of pupils and students. It may be suggested that the

uniformity of the procedure makes it as monotonous for the participants as is the description of it. The teachers are urging a reduction of the practice of celebrations and campaigns for the younger children, who have shown clearly a lack of interest and even a spirit of protest because of the frequency of the various days and weeks to be celebrated. It has in fact been noted that too many celebrations weaken the impression made on the children. In February and March there are three dates for celebration—the Paris Commune, the February, 1917, Revolution, and the Red Army Day. So a selection of one is suggested; and in general it is urged that four or five celebrations, of good quality, are all that the child can stand in the course of a year.

Certain religious holidays and Sundays are observed as days of rest. It is on these days that excursions are organized for the workmen and also for the children. In this way interest is directed away from religious matters, and at the same time the day of rest is put to a useful purpose. The nature of these excursions has been discussed under another heading; they include visits to former estates, to museums, and to art galleries, and also simply picnics in the parks or neighboring countryside. In organizing these excursions among children, it is urged not to suggest the excursion frankly as a substitute for going to church, lest the child choose the church in unconscious protest. The most interesting excursions are planned for the religious holidays of the summer months, in part to attract the older persons as well as the children. On these days the patronage society holds a political meeting in its adopted village. It is on a Sunday that the excursions from city to village and vice versa are organized.

In the more backward rural communities the celebration of the revolutionary holidays is often confined to the Communist, Young Communists, and Pioneers. Also, with the meager equipment at their disposal, these more active elements are not able to stage a very impressive procession. In a recent book entitled *Sketches of a Backward Village*, in which the results of a detailed study are brought together, the author quotes the complaint of a peasant that the old semipagan feasts, with their carousals and buffoonery, are being replaced by the revolutionary festivals. He liked the old celebrations because they were "cheerful." Now, he protests, one has to spend the days of rest in sensible things, and when one has a free moment and would like to play the fool a bit, there is no opportunity. Speaking of the revolutionary celebration, the peasant remarks that it does not mean much anyway, consisting simply in taking a Red flag and running down the

street. The organization of the special rural festival of Harvest Day, described above, aims to meet this objection of the peasant.

The change also in the character of the celebration of Harvest Day illustrates a general tendency which is being promoted with respect to all celebrations. The leaders are recommending that methods of general agitation be supplemented by methods that will draw the broader masses into practical work to realize the particular task. An example of the successful application of the new methods was seen when, as part of the celebration of Defense Week in 1927, circles of military science were formed, rifle practice organized, and volunteer groups took part in the maneuvers of the Red army.

While Soviet holidays represent the commemoration of a conquest of the Revolution, and there is always the emphasis on further achievement in the consolidation of the conquest, at the same time the tasks still to be met are stressed with equal force. This fact has been brought out in the short descriptions of the subject matter of slogans, speeches, and plays which form part of a revolutionary celebration. It should be emphasized by this special mention, however. The Communist leaders insist on this feature of a Soviet festival and introduce it in their speeches and articles on the occasion of a celebration. They aim to combine their enthusiasm as revolutionaries and their realism as responsible leaders to create a spirit of optimism without overconfidence, and a realization of the seriousness of the struggle without undue pessimism, to summarize their own instructions.

"All Soviet celebrations must be saturated with the proletarian and class content," read other instructions issued to teachers by their trade-union authorities for the celebration of the anniversary of the October revolution. These directions go on to explain that the element of "revolutionary pathos" may be introduced to arouse the masses to new effort and attainment. There is the warning that the celebration must not be too strenuous, as the holiday is also a day of rest. It is recommended that dramatic performances be organized instead of formal lectures or reports, which may prove boring. So long as the element of revolutionary-class content is present, attention to the element of artistic form is not only allowed but is strongly urged. The celebration must also be educational, for it is always part of the political-education work discussed or referred to in other chapters of this study.

CHAPTER XII

GENERAL EDUCATION UNDER THE SOVIETS

The educational system of the Soviet Union has been discussed widely by the outside world, and this is not another attempt to analyze its organization. Nor will the Soviet pedagogical methods be presented in all their details; they might well constitute a separate study. However, as the Soviet educational institutions are given the very specific task of training citizens—for the new type of state which has been set up on the one hand, and for the continuation of the Communist leadership in this Soviet type of state on the other—the system as a whole, and the general principles underlying the methods of instruction, must be presented. As would be expected in the process of a revolution aiming to establish a new social and economic order, one finds in the Soviet educational institutions an emphasis on civics as a subject and also on civic activity in pupils and students. There has been, in fact, an emphasis the expediency of which has been often questioned. The overemphasis was recently realized by the Communist educators themselves, and programs and methods were modified accordingly. Experimentation has been particularly characteristic of Soviet methods in the field of education, furnishing suggestive material especially on the subject of civic training.

Public education in the Soviet Union is one of the fields in which structural decentralization has been most widely adopted. Each of the national units of the Soviet Union has its own commissariat of education, and within each unit the local budgets carry a considerable percentage of the total appropriations for education. The policies of the Commissariat of Education of the Ukraine differ somewhat from those of the Commissariat of the Russian unit and have influenced the policies of the latter on many points of detail as well as with respect to general principles. The various local Sections of Public Education often take somewhat independent lines in meeting concrete school problems. The discussions, and even disputes between the Section of Public Education of Moscow, or that of Leningrad, with the Commissariat of Education have been useful in the working out of Soviet methods of education, and have been utilized for this study.

However, there is in this field a very high degree of centralization. The "co-ordinated" as opposed to "unified" commissariats of

independent Soviet Republics constantly confer and co-ordinate their activities. Through the party, Komsomol, Pioneers, trade-unions, and other All-Union organizations, all of which are brought into the closest touch with education, a unity in educational policy can be secured. The general policy is dictated in large measure from Moscow, so that throughout the Soviet Union the general features are much the same. The Commissariat at Moscow does, in fact, extend its influence, if not its formal jurisdiction, throughout the Soviet Union. Structural decentralization has not prevented marked centralism in the determination of policy and even of methods. Thus in this study the directing Commissariat of Education of the largest Russian unit will be taken as the basis.

The periods of the Revolution are reflected clearly in the educational policy as well as in the concrete conditions for educational work. For the purposes of this study two main periods stand out, of the first three years to 1921, and of the years following that date. The New Economic Policy of 1921 led also to changes in the educational policy. Tendencies that began to appear during 1927 may represent the introduction to a third distinct period, marked by greater emphasis on professional training, as part of the policy of industrialization. The educational policy from 1921 on, which expressed itself concretely in a new general statute finally worked out by 1923, presents the greater interest for the subject of civic training. The educational policy of the first years of the Revolution will therefore be discussed mainly in its relation to this later policy. Present tendencies will be discussed, so far as they permit of formulation, in their relation to the policy as worked out in the first years of the New Economic Policy.

The field covered by the Commissariat of Education of the Soviet system is a very broad one; it includes not only educational institutions but preschool and "outside-school" education. The Commissariat co-operates closely with the party and the Komsomol in the development and organization of institutions for special political training, the Soviet-Party Schools. In addition, the Commissariat has jurisdiction of museums and art galleries, and historic monuments and buildings. The opera and theater are also brought under the educational department of the Soviet government. Finally, the administration of the censorship and active direct participation in the field of publication give to the Commissariat of Education further possibility of direction and control of educational and cultural work and activity.

It should be noted that all educational institutions are either state or party institutions; the principle of monopoly of state or party in the field of education is enforced with special care. Until recently no private initiative in the establishment of educational institutions was permitted, and at present the exceptions to this rule are insignificant or only temporary. A community may set up a primary school from its own resources, but it must receive special permission and submit to governmental regulation; such a school is called a "contract" school, and under the terms of the contract the school is to be turned over to the state authorities after a period of years. In 1927 a law was introduced under which purely technical training in the mechanical arts might be organized privately. Education came to be spoken of as the next "front" of the Revolution when, by 1921, victory had been secured on the military and political fronts. The full purport of the use of this terminology will be brought out in the discussion. But it was to secure victory also on this front that the principle of state monopoly of education came to be enforced more rigidly, when the state monopoly in the economic field was modified. It was on the same grounds that from the very first months of the Revolution the Church was separated not only from the State but also from education.

The broad reach of the activity and functions of the educational department of government under the Soviet system makes it difficult properly to classify the educational institutions. The preschool work in kindergartens and nurseries must be discussed also in connection with the general problem of the care of children. The "liquidation-of-illiteracy points," established in all sorts of institutions and places to teach reading and writing, present an important educational activity to meet a temporary situation. Village reading-rooms are the centers of general political life, as has already been noted; but they come under the jurisdiction of the Section of Political Education of the educational department of the Soviet government, which does not hesitate to speak of itself as the instrument for the state propaganda of the principles of Communism. Workmen's Faculties, Factory Schools, and Schools of Peasant Youth are at one and the same time special institutions and part of the general and basic educational system. The Unified Labor School, with its grades and "steps" or cycles within grades, is the basis of the network of the formal educational system coming under the jurisdiction of the Section of Social Training of the Commissariat of Education. Higher technical and general educational institutions are under the jurisdiction of another section, the Professional

Education Section, which also directs the Factory Schools, Schools of Peasant Youth, and Workmen's Factories. Institutes of research have been separated off from the institutions of instruction and training. There are the special schools of political training, in the work of which the Political Education Section of the Commissariat is associated with departments or sections of the Communist party. Finally, special evening courses and instruction by correspondence are being organized by many of the basic educational institutions. The children's homes and colonies must also be included in the Soviet school system.

In general, one must note that there are several types of educational institutions which are in principle temporary in character, although it is expected that the conditions which led to their adoption will continue for some time to come. Such, for example, are the Workmen's Faculties instituted to help students from the workman and peasant classes to secure the secondary education which the conditions of pre-revolutionary Russia closed to them. The Schools of Peasant Youth and the Factory Schools will presumably disappear when the Soviet educational system has been developed to the full scope of its program. The general educational courses in the Red army are a temporary expedient to fill the present gaps in the general educational system. The centers to spread literacy represent stop-gaps even more clearly. Presumably the village reading-rooms will in time become general centers of civic life rather than the centers for specific political education which they are at present. On the other hand, in the homes for orphan children there are certain features which are held out as the ideal for the lower grades of the Labor School. The wide scope of the Soviet educational system, the great variety of institutions, and the special and temporary types of schools result in general from the principles and aims of the Revolution, as interpreted by the educational leaders in government and party.

The Soviet educational policy and institutions have certain distinguishing features, according to the educational leaders of the Soviet government and of the Communist party. The class principle is strongly enforced in the admission and organization of pupils and students. There must be close contact between the educational institution and production; the laboratory method of instruction is to be applied as broadly as possible; the pupils and students are given wide self-government within the school. In the curricula of all institutions there is a required minimum of social-science study; an obligation of civic activity on the part of pupil or student supplements the study

of contemporary social and political life. Thus the Soviet school is an "active" as opposed to a "passive" institution, and is frankly brought into the field of politics. Further, the use of the local language and the study of the local region are emphasized as outstanding features of the Soviet educational system. The important rôle of the Communist party, the Communist Union of Youth, and the Pioneers of Communism in the Soviet schools has already been noted in the discussion of these party organizations. In view of the new ideas and methods which the Soviet schools are expected to apply, special attention has to be given to the retraining of old teachers and the training of a new and larger staff. Each of these allegedly distinctive aspects of Soviet educational policy or method therefore will be taken up here in its general principles and also in its application to the various types of schools or institutions. Because of their special interest for this study, the schools of "political grammar" will be further discussed in a separate chapter, as will also the special political educational work which is part of the training of the Red army soldier.

That the Revolution opened up to workmen and peasants the schools and educational facilities is the general statement which is constantly repeated in all discussions of or references to the Soviet educational system; it is claimed that under the old régime education was deliberately limited to the propertied or bourgeois classes. There is a measure of truth in this statement, which makes it possible to use it for home as well as foreign consumption. Primary schools in cities and villages did not provide places for more than half of the children of school age. The children of peasants and workmen could proceed to the secondary schools only with difficulty; in addition to the tuition fees there were many formalities of admission, for the peasant child particularly. The higher educational institutions were even more inaccessible to workmen and peasants. It was not the policy of the old government to promote general education among the masses. This was one of the points of conflict between the government and the public. However, the public was gradually forcing the hand of the government, through the elective local provincial and municipal councils and through the national parliament, the Duma. Just before the World War the Duma passed a law under which obligatory primary education was to be introduced within ten years. Secondary schools were increasing in number, and the student body of the higher educational institutions was becoming more democratic. There were, however, many special institutions for the privileged class of the old nobility; and in the main the pupils of secondary schools and the stu-

dents of higher educational institutions came from the propertied and official classes, or from the intelligentsia as opposed to workmen and peasants.

The provisional governments of the revolution of February, 1917, took up the problem of reforming the schools of the "new Russia" on democratic lines; but these plans were interrupted by the advent of the October revolution, which brought other leaders, with other plans for education. The class principle, which was to be the basis of the new political order, was to be applied also in the field of education; but more particularly education was to be thrown open to the masses. The whole school system was to be reorganized into a single unified labor school, in the lower grades of which all children were to be provided for. In this unified school all artificial barriers between grades would be abolished. In order to give to the schools the new character, all admission requirements except those of age were done away with. Thus the workmen and peasants could enter the higher as well as the secondary educational institutions. The number of schools of all grades increased enormously, and the percentage of children of workmen and peasants in the schools grew correspondingly.

It was in this first period that the Workmen's Faculties were started, in order to prepare workmen and peasants to enter the higher educational institutions; they gave a concentrated preparation for the higher courses. The programs and methods of instruction for these special faculties, as well as for the Unified Labor School of this period, will be discussed as another topic. Here the attempt is to trace the policy with respect to the categories or classes of students. In the Workmen's Faculties there was concrete evidence, for workmen particularly, that the Revolution had opened up the schools for them and their children. In this period of militant or integral Communism, not only were there no tuition fees, but the state furnished the dinner to the children and material assistance to the older pupils and students. The constantly increasing economic difficulties of this first period made the full program unrealizable; it must be said, however, that the material side of educational work, among the urban children particularly, was generously supported in this period of economic crises. Schools often were unheated even in winter, but were more frequently heated than other institutions or the private homes.

With the New Economic Policy retrenchment in expenditures affected education particularly, and in 1922 the number of schools and pupils had fallen below the pre-revolutionary figures. A budgetary system had been reintroduced; the appropriations for education were

now fixed, and at first were meager in view of the primary need of re-establishing the productive processes of the country. It was not until 1926 that the pre-war figures of the number of pupils in primary grades were again attained. The higher educational institutions survived the crisis more successfully, at least in the matter of numbers; here, in fact, the policy of reducing the number of students to the facilities and accommodations actually available was adopted. As for the intermediate grades, the number of pupils was limited to a percentage of places available in the primary grades. With the introduction of this policy of limiting admission to the equipment available for actual educational functioning, the class principle was made more definitely the basis for the conditions of admission. It was found that the children of the dispossessed propertied classes still formed a very large percentage of the students in the higher institutions and also a considerable percentage of the pupils in the intermediate grades. With the development of a new bourgeoisie under the New Economic Policy, it was considered necessary to protect the schools from this "hostile" class, in the interests of workmen and peasants.

The details of the development of this new policy cannot be followed; the final expression of it came by 1925. In the primary schools of rural communities the children of poor peasants were admitted first in order and without tuition. The child of a middle peasant also paid no tuition. On the other hand, the village rich peasant had to pay for the tuition of his children, who were, however, admitted. In point of fact the children of middle and rich peasants have been able always to secure admission to the primary schools largely because of the poverty and cultural backwardness of the poorer elements of the village, so that the discrimination has not been effective. Also, it will be noted, the pupils of the rural primary schools had always been peasants, so that here the change has not been marked. In the primary schools of the cities the new policy had a real significance. The children of workmen were given the priority of admission. As the number of schools was still inadequate for the demand, this meant a substantial privilege. The Soviet employees and toiling intelligentsia had to take second turn; and in the case of the technical experts, a small tuition was charged. The children of the new bourgeoisie were admitted only if there were vacant places, and their parents had to pay a tuition.

In the next grade of the general schools the class principle was even more strictly enforced because of the limited number of places in them. The Factory Schools were limited to apprentices, who were

themselves workmen. The Schools for Peasant Youth aimed to reach primarily the youth of the poor-peasant and middle-peasant elements. It is probable that the son or daughter of a disfranchised rich peasant could not gain admission to one of these schools. The general technical high schools to train the skilled workmen drew mainly from the children of workmen. The Workmen's Faculties by their very character were composed exclusively of workmen and peasants. Also the Soviet-Party Schools required of the candidate for admission a "production qualification," as industrial workman or agriculturist.

In the higher educational institution it was more difficult to secure the predominance of workmen and peasants. Here the children of the old bourgeoisie, of the new bourgeoisie, and particularly of the toiling intelligentsia in Soviet state employment gave the larger proportion as compared with children from workman and peasant families. Therefore, in addition to the places set aside for the graduates of Workmen's Faculties, quotas were assigned to local Soviet, party, and trade-union bodies. These latter selected and delegated the candidates, who were admitted without examination on the basis that the local authorities would choose only those who were properly qualified. Through this method of local selection it was thought that the limited places in the higher educational institutions would be secured to the most promising and best equipped of the workmen and peasants. This method of selection did not prove entirely successful, however. The candidates sent up too frequently were inadequately prepared to meet the requirements for work in the higher educational institutions. It was decided therefore to re-establish the system of examination for admission; and in 1926 this change was introduced, an exception being made for the Workmen's Faculties, which continued to have a certain number of places set aside for students who completed their courses. The majority of the places in the higher educational institutions were thrown open to all applicants on the basis of examinations, although there were certain administrative practices representing a supplementary class selection which acted as "filters, so to speak, to let through more easily the elements which are the more desirable from the class viewpoint," to quote from the report of the Commissary of Education at the December, 1927, congress of the party. With the reintroduction of the examination for admission, state aid to students has become more systematically organized; and through the distribution of living-quarters and allowances, by central or local Soviet, party, and trade-union bodies, the student of workman or peasant or-

igin is still favored. But the examination requirement tends to prevent this privilege from being used regardless of ability.

When the development of the Soviet school system will permit the actual introduction of obligatory universal education up to the age of eighteen, all these limitations which are applied at present will fall. By 1934 it is hoped to realize the first part of the program; it is believed that by that date the equipment available will make it possible to introduce obligatory education for the first grades, covering the ages of eight to twelve. No date has been set for the realization of the next step, however. In the meantime it is considered logical for a workman-peasant government to give priority to the children of workmen and peasants and to the workmen and peasants who wish to avail themselves of the existing educational facilities. There is another motive for the discrimination in favor of workmen; they and their children are to bring the proletarian attitude into all educational institutions. In one of the experimental primary schools of Moscow which was situated in a quarter of the city given over largely to the bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, a group of proletarian children from a neighboring children's home was enrolled. The children's homes represent the fullest expression of the Soviet ideal; the children in these institutions come largely from workman or peasant families, or as orphans are not subject to the class influence of family.

Self-government is one of the bases of the internal organization of all Soviet schools, from the lowest to the highest. In the pre-revolutionary schools the enforcing of a strict discipline was enjoined on all teachers by the governmental authorities. Organizations of pupils or students even in the secondary and higher institutions were forbidden, largely from fear of revolutionary or political activity. Therefore the smallest measure of self-government would mean much on the background of the past. What came at first was a democratization of the schools to the point of absurdity. An elemental assertiveness of pupils and students was noted soon after the February revolution; the October revolution made the tendency a matter of policy, as part of the mass participation in the Revolution. Also the pupils and students were to be the agents for introducing the new ideas and methods in education, particularly since the teachers in general showed a marked hostility to the new Soviet authority and to many of its educational projects.

The self-government principle had its widest application in the first years of the Revolution and was in part responsible for the collapse of real educational work in the Soviet schools of this first pe-

riod. It proved frequently a source of demoralization rather than a means to develop responsibility. When, by 1923, the new policies in education had been worked out, and the teachers in the main formally at least had been won over to the new methods and programs, the principle of self-government was given a more reasonable expression. It will be denied by Communists that the institution of self-government has been very considerably narrowed down; they will insist that it has simply been given the proper direction. In any case, it is now on a much sounder basis, and is distinctly constructive, giving the children as well as the older students a useful citizenship foundation. The general impression is that in actual practice there is further narrowing-down of the participation of older students as well as younger pupils in the actual organization of the institution. One may conclude that here a theory has had to give way before the pressure of cold facts; the children and even the older students have not been able to carry successfully the measure of responsibility which at first was put upon them.

In discussing the question, the Communists insist that the self-government of the pupils and students must be such in fact, and not merely a form of self-service or an agency of the teacher to maintain discipline. At present the institution is flexible, to meet the requirements and abilities of various ages; where before it had become conventionalized. By its flexibility it is made more vital in each group; the Communist pedagogues constantly emphasize the fact that self-government must not be allowed to "stew in its own juice and go sour." The type of self-government which is to be developed is to contribute to the aim of making the school a "social organism," and not simply a place where the child or student is taught, or even trained and prepared for life. The "collective group" means to the Communist not a mere "sum" but an "integral," to use the terms of one writer. To be a collective, it is not enough that the group happens to be in the same place for a given period of time: to be a "collective," the group must have the consciousness of common interests and aims. For the school this should mean that it has become the place, and even the center, of the child's life. The institution of self-government will make it such, it is believed. Further, the school must be part of a social whole, and by their participation in the organization of the school the children are to be brought to live the life of the present with their teachers and parents.

Living conditions in general and the conditions of a revolutionary period have undoubtedly made the children and young people bet-

ter prepared to assume responsibilities in the school. The peasant child from early years is brought into the work and worries of the household under the conditions of life of the Russian village. Similarly, though perhaps to a somewhat lesser extent, the children in the family of a workman are forced to think of the organization of the family life under the present crowded housing conditions. The child of the period of the Revolution has lived more completely the life of the whole family, and this has been a life of problems of organization and co-operation and also of frequent disputes. All this undoubtedly helps the child to understand and participate in the self-government of the school.

In the rural elementary schools self-government is just beginning to be introduced. The large classes and the carrying of several classes by the single teacher made it practically impossible to apply the principle very extensively. In the cities, however, the degree of self-government in the elementary schools is considerable. In this respect the Soviet schools certainly stand out in comparison with the old Russian school. In one experimental school visited in 1926 a most comprehensive system had been worked out, by which every child had a task in connection with the work of the school. Each class of forty children was divided into cells of five members each. In each cell each child in turn had a task—one was the elder, another the assistant elder, a third the sanitary inspector, a fourth the business manager, and the fifth the leader of political activity. The last was generally a Pioneer. These were all co-ordinated in corresponding sections of the Pupils' Committee of the school. The latter had its presiding body, in which the Forepost of the Pioneers was represented as a matter of right. This presiding body in turn was represented on the school Soviet, where the pupils made reports and participated in the discussion together with the teachers and parents. It is doubtful whether such complete and successful organization of the pupils is general even in the better schools of Moscow. As was emphasized by the director of the school where this effectively working system of self-government was found, this school was an experimental school and was unusually well equipped materially and in its teaching staff.

In the homes for orphan children, where the institution is the center of life of the children, self-government is developed more thoroughly than in the ordinary elementary schools. The general principle of organization is the same; there are the small groups or cells, with representatives in the various sections of the Pupils' Committee; and through the latter the pupils are represented in the Soviet of the insti-

tution side by side with the teachers and other members of the staff of the institution. In one such institution for children a chart of the various sections or committees of the pupils showed a reduction in the number of these committees. In answer to a question it was explained that the load of responsibility put upon the pupils had been found to be too heavy. In general the impression was that while the institution of self-government was making the Soviet school an active school, it was leading to an excessive expenditure of physical and nervous energy by the children, particularly in the elementary classes.

In the schools of the secondary type, the institution of self-government is proving most successful, it is claimed. The older children and the youth have shown a keen interest in this direct participation in the organizing of their school activities. Here the questions of the subjects of study are discussed and worked out with the student body somewhat more extensively, although always within the limits of the programs set for each class. The members of the Komsomol as well as the Pioneers are expected to be particularly active in the committees and sections. The Workmen's Faculties which belong in the category of secondary schools enjoy a still larger measure of self-government, for here the pupils are more mature and in many instances have been "in production."

In higher technical schools, and in universities and research institutes, the principle of self-government finds still wider application. The dormitories set aside for the students are run by the students, for example. Questions of discipline are left very largely to the student committees. The details of the program of studies are worked out by a body on which the students are represented. A large number of the students in these institutions have already joined the trade-union covering the field of production for which they are preparing themselves. Many are members of the Komsomol, and a considerable number are members of the Communist party. Through the trade-union organization and the cells of Komsomol and party, these students assume a special responsibility for the affairs of the institution, as well as special leadership among the students. As compared with the student councils and other organizations in the universities and higher technical schools of other countries, the Soviet student committees are much more active and authoritative. A journal, the *Proletarian Student*, published by the trade-union authorities with the help of student editors and correspondents, discusses and in a way directs the self-government activities of the students.

The institution of self-government, even when it is limited to a

minimum, is proving useful in developing assertiveness and activeness in the children and youth. Where the equipment of the school permits, the institution has become a noteworthy feature of the Soviet system of education. In the latter instances, in addition to promoting activeness, it has taught even the younger children to become the organizers and collectivists which the Communist training aims to produce. One will encounter individual instances where the assertiveness of the child suggests the agitator rather than the builder of the new order. And the teacher who is overwhelmed by the large classes and the several shifts which many teachers must carry will be unable to give the direction which is required; self-government then becomes purely fictitious and simply an aid to the teacher to enforce discipline, or it runs wild, as it did in the first years of the Revolution, making effective study impossible and losing entirely its educative value.

Not always is the aim of bringing all the pupils and students into the self-government activities actually attained. Often self-government is in fact limited to a small circle of the active students, who may for that very reason be the poorest students from the purely academic point of view. Then the elective positions are held more or less permanently by a small group which becomes really a bureaucracy, developing the traits of conceit and aloofness characteristic of such. These instances represent another instance of failure of the institution. The Communist, Komsomol, or Pioneer leadership in the self-government of the school or university is often responsible for this development.

"The school must be in the closest contact with actual life," the Communists are constantly repeating when they discuss their methods of education. Frequent excursions to law courts, factories, or market places are part of the school work, even in the primary classes. Participation in the celebrations of revolutionary holidays is expected even of the smaller children, although recently the first two classes, of children from eight to ten years of age, have been excused from marching in the streets and celebrate in the school building. Children are taken to regular meetings of workmen's clubs or committees. The older children may take an actual part in the life of the neighboring factory, workshop, or state farm by helping to spread literacy or by establishing nurseries. For the students of higher technical and general educational institutions, the giving of assistance in the organization of reading-rooms and clubs is a means of establishing this contact. The rural school can participate even more easily in the life of the village along the same lines. In this way the school is expected to become a useful and positive factor in the life of the community. The

Pioneers and Komsomol members have the special obligation to bring the school or institution as a whole into the activities of the surrounding everyday life. It is believed that the child is bound to touch life, and that the negative sides of life will be touched, and in an unorganized manner, unless positive measures are taken to establish these contacts. Clubs and circles within the school, but outside of the regular school work, and the Komsomol and Pioneer movements are the important agencies for organizing these contacts.

The axis of the Soviet educational system is the Unified Labor School, and it follows that the basis of Communist education is first of all labor, which under the terms of the Soviet constitution means not merely manual labor but "effort that is productive and socially useful, including housekeeping." On the basis of labor it is believed that the child will grow up with a specific realization and understanding of the present. Labor will also bring the child from the very first years into the socially useful labor activity of living people. So the emphasis on labor implies not only a study of the labor processes and methods of organization but actual participation in them so far as the physical and mental attainments of each particular age permit. The participation must be conscious and socially interpreted, and must call forth internal impulses and emotions which convert the passionless study of various beautiful things in school into a forging of a method of approach to life, of convictions and conceptions, it is explained. Also, the method of approach must also be full of energy, enthusiasm, and revolutionary zeal.

It was to realize this general conception of the school that the State Scientific Council of the People's Commissariat of Education, composed of Communists and with formal representation of the trade-unions, finally worked out by 1923 definite programs of study for the first years of the Labor School. The same authority controls the textbooks to be used in the carrying-out of these programs, and by 1927 the textbooks for elementary education had at last been rewritten. The programs became theoretically obligatory in all schools, but it was expected that material conditions would prevent the full application of the new programs, particularly in the rural districts. The programs were frankly experimental in character; the widest discussion of their applicability was invited and has been going on for several years. It is evident that a modification of the programs is coming as a result of the discussion, so that some of the features of these programs may soon be substantially altered. However, they will have had an important influence, and their basic principles will continue to un-

derlie the policies of the Communist authorities in the field of education.

The "complex" or "project" method is the foundation of these programs; for the first years of the Labor School the distribution of the program of study by subjects has been abandoned. In the prerevolutionary elementary schools, the subjects were the usual disciplines of reading, writing, and arithmetic, following in order the study of religious subjects. Until 1923 this old program was followed in the majority of schools, with the elimination of the first subject of religion. Now themes and problems are to be the bases of the curriculum of study. These themes are to be selected by the pupils and the teachers within a certain point of interest, which is the "complex." One short definition of a "complex" speaks of it as "the body of concrete facts taken from reality and grouped around a definite idea or theme." For the Soviet pedagogue the complex must be more than a center of interest; it must be a center of activity in everyday life. The disciplines of reading, writing, and arithmetic are to be acquired in the course of the working-out of the project.

The official programs of the Labor School divide the field of study into three main groups. There are three parallel columns in the printed outlines of programs of study: the first headed "Nature," the second "Labor," and the third "Society." For the first year, the child studies the seasons of the year, the daily work of the family, and the relation of the family to the school. In the second year, nature study covers air, water, the sun, plants, and domestic animals; the everyday work of the village or of the part of the city in which the child lives is taken up; and the administrative institutions of the city and the village are studied. For the third year, the two columns of "Labor" and "Society" bring in the economic activity, the administrative institutions, and the history of the region in which the city or village is located. In the fourth and last year of the first step of the Labor School, the national economy of the Soviet Union and of other countries, and the governmental organization of the Soviet Union as compared with that of other countries, with pictures of the past life of the human race, are the contents of the "Labor" and "Society" columns, based on a study of geography and of the life of the human body under the column of "Nature."

The programs for the next three years are more detailed, but follow the same general lines. In the third group, on "Society," for the sixth year of the Labor School, that is, for pupils of fourteen years of age, the program outlines the following themes for study:

The workmen and the capitalists. Wage-labor and capital. Private property and labor. The situation of the working class. The union of landlords and capitalists. Constitutional monarchy. Bourgeois, republican dictatorship. Capitalism. Competition. The chaos of production. The struggle between labor and capital. The Chartists. The year 1848. The Communist manifesto expressing the aspirations of the working class. International associations of workmen. The First International. Effort of the workmen to seize power: the Paris Commune. The Second International. The struggle through strikes. Trade-unions. Political parties. Capitalism in Russia. Survivals of feudalism. Monarchy. The struggle in 1905 and in 1917.

This summary of the official program for a particular year shows the kind of material which is to be handled by the pupils in the working out of their projects. It is believed that this method will serve to orient, and develop habits of work in the home, of labor, of scientific research, through systematic observation, collection of facts, and utilization of books, museums, and so forth. Particularly this method of instruction aims to develop in the child habits of work in political and administrative organizations, and these are further promoted by the participation in general meetings noted above and by the individual and collective execution of certain social tasks. The organization of circles, societies, co-operatives, clubs, excursions, participation in celebrations and in the editing of a wall newspaper, are activities of the school which supplement the work under these programs.

Examples of the actual working of the project method cannot be discussed in detail here. In one instance the group made a survey of the village; and the results, set down in written form and representing the contribution of each child, made most interesting reading, and at the same time had a very practical value. One should note that the materialistic point of view is emphasized in the working-out of the theme "Your Home," for example. The "cow" theme leads to more attention to the care of the cow in a large number of households, so that socially useful work is secured, was the report of one teacher. The most serious criticism of the method has been that it does not give the children a real training in reading, writing and arithmetic. These subjects are expected to be covered as part of the work on the theme. Being brought in on this secondary basis, they are often neglected. The injunction to get away from the old program based on these subjects has been too literally followed by many teachers.

Lack of equipment; crowded classes; the reduction of the four years of the first step to not more than two years of actual study

hours in the rural schools, because of irregular attendance; and finally, the greater burden on the teachers of this new method of instruction, have prevented its full application in actual fact. The failure of a very large number of candidates in Russian language and mathematics when entrance examinations were again introduced in 1926 for the higher educational institutions showed clearly a weakness of the new programs, at least in the conditions in which they had to be applied. Finally, to note only the most general facts, many teachers could not possibly apply the new methods even if they were in heartiest sympathy with them. For with several shifts to handle, in some instances teaching eight hours a day, the teacher could not expend the energy necessary to carry on the study by themes.

Where the new programs and the new methods of instruction were found to be more or less fully followed, the children seemed unusually self-reliant and even assertive. One's entrance into the room did not interrupt the class exercise, and the children were eager to talk about and explain their work when questioned. There was an interest in current political questions which struck the writer as almost abnormal for children of that age. On the streets and in the celebration of political holidays the children manifested an activeness which was marked, as compared with what one had seen in Russia before the Revolution. A negative side was also noted, namely, the overseriousness which showed itself in their faces as well as in their questions and remarks. A mild form of "hooliganism" is often found also among the children as well as in the young people.

The preparation of the textbooks to be used in connection with the official programs is controlled, or at least directed, by the authority responsible for the programs. In the last years there has been a very large expansion in the supply of textbooks, which earlier was absurdly inadequate. With the help of these texts, based on Marxian principles and adopted to Soviet policies, the teachers are able to give the desired orientation. The authors are usually Communists, and the selections for these Soviet primers are made or prepared to give the Communist training. The child is introduced to the life and work of Lenin almost from the very first pages; labor processes are discussed in early chapters. The general content and the emphasis of these textbooks are the same as in the programs. They are graded for the various years and steps of the Labor School. The textbooks for the technical and higher schools will be discussed later.

Although the programs of the State Scientific Council are to cover the whole course of the four-year and seven-year Labor Schools, they

do not reach into the last two years of the nine-year course. These last two years, which are just being added, give the professional training in a particular field and require different types of programs. Similarly for the Factory Schools, Schools of Peasant Youth, and the special Workmen's Faculties there are special programs, in which the curriculum by subjects is retained. In the higher technical and general educational institutions the programs are also built up on subjects. In all these programs "Study of Society" is one of the subjects, and under it are grouped the history and civics courses of the Soviet curriculum. The number of hours set aside for these studies is very considerable; in the universities a social-science minimum is required, even in the scientific faculties. Here may be summarized the arguments put forward in support of this social-science minimum in the higher technical institutions; these arguments also explain the place given to civics in the lower technical schools. The specialist or technical expert in the conditions of the building of a new order based largely on socialized large-scale industry must be able clearly to orient himself in all that is going on in the society which surrounds him and which is reconstructing itself along new lines. State social activity is inevitable for the engineer, doctor, agricultural expert, and so forth, of the Soviet system. These technical experts must be given the key to the understanding of social forces in general, and of those which are present in the Soviet Union particularly. The road to the understanding of what is going on is the study of these social forces through the acquiring of methods of scientific analysis and the transforming of the conclusions of this analysis into the practices of life. Such a method is the "Marx-Lenin method." Without this method the doctor would be a narrow specialist in his own line and not a conscious participant in the state constructive effort now going on in the Soviet Union. The kind of specialist which the proletarian state needs is one who knows—

> the principles of political economy, the history of the economic development and struggle of workmen and peasants against capitalists and landlords, the history of the party of the proletariat which leads this struggle, the principles of the militant creed of the toiling class, Marxism-Leninism, the present epoch of proletarian revolution, and the theory and practice of the governmental and economic constructive achievements of the proletariat and its party in the Soviet Union.

This long quotation may serve as a brief outline of the content of the courses on "Study of Society" which are found in the upper secondary and the technical schools and in the higher educational institutions.

For the younger students also, the aim of the social science courses is to bring present-day conditions and problems into the school work and at the same time give them a "socially scientific development," making accessible to them the laws of the life of society and helping them to become the builders of a new life. With this practical aim in the foreground it is impossible within the limits of the time to give a systematic course on history and the study of society. The Communists say that the old school sacrificed the present as a deliberate policy; they admit that they are sacrificing the past, since the present day is more important in view of the developing of the revolutionary struggle. To make clear that present-day culture is the last attainment of human history in all fields, the textbooks and programs compare it with primitive and intervening cultures. But the emphasis must be on such themes as the industrial revolution, the bourgeois and proletarian orders, or socialism as the ideology of the proletariat. The Orient, Ancient Greece, the Roman Empire, the Middle Ages, the Reformation, Humanism, Russia of the Kiev period, Novgorod Russia—all these fields must be passed over except as sources from which to draw examples and illustrations. In special history work in the universities they will be taken up later, or the individual may follow one of these lines in his later cultural interests.

The textbooks prepared for these courses are all written from the Marxian point of view. The introduction of one of the most widely used of these textbooks by M. Volfson, *Outline of the Study of Society*, states:

> The aim of this book is to give in their Marxian conception the general ideas of society, of the laws of its formation and development, and also of its internal forces in their conflicts and movements; and an understanding of the road along which the society of toilers progresses to its liberation, under the leadership of the proletariat and of the latter's party.

The author adds that he will be "happy if the book supplies the weapon of a Marxian, proletarian world-outlook to the younger generation, which is coming along to take the place of the old fighters, working in closed ranks to build up the new world." If space permitted, it would be interesting to abstract this book, to show how the author presents the facts of history and of the present in order to attain his aim. The first sentence reads: "Man, like all other living beings, receives everything from nature surrounding him." On the seventeenth page the subject of the class struggle is brought in; and the concluding sentence of the first chapter, on "Factors in the Development of Human Society," points out the inevitableness of the class

struggle. The third chapter on the "History of Economic Forms and Social Relations," ends with a section on "Bourgeoisie and Proletariat." In the chapter on the "Structure of Capitalistic Society" there is the following statement: "The workmen of the whole world have striven and are striving for the dictatorship of the proletariat, except in the Soviet Union where the proletarian revolution has already turned power over into the hands of the toilers." A concluding sentence reads: "Thus the aim of the proletariat is communism; the means are the class struggle, the destruction of the capitalistic order, and for the period of transition the dictatorship of the proletariat." These quotations are taken from a tenth edition of this work, and this edition is of 50,000. It is a book of 350 pages, at the low price of 60 cents.

In professional training, the aim to produce an all-round social worker has led to a sacrifice of technical skill. The course in electrical engineering, for example, has sixty subjects of study. The idea was that the engineer should be trained in more than one specialty, and thus get a better understanding of the broader problems of production. There has been a tendency recently to question the wisdom of this method and to reduce the number of subjects and also the hours assigned to civics. The students of the higher educational institutions carry a very heavy schedule. A recent questionnaire showed long hours of work, short hours of sleep, very little time devoted to physical exercise, and many hours in some public, civic work. Their living conditions were very bad, the monthly budget of over two-thirds of the students ranging from approximately ten to fifteen dollars. In the discussion of the hours and conditions of work of the students as revealed by this questionnaire, the prevailing view was that too much attention to studies was reactionary; it was urged that the students "cultivate the fervor of constructive work," or, as one speaker worded it, "find world-revolution in every small detail."

The pupils and students of the upper secondary schools, the technical schools, and the universities are drawn into the surrounding life and brought into contact with "production" by a variety of methods. Many of the older students are already members of trade-unions, and a large number are Komsomol or party members, and as such are expected to assume and fulfil definite civic tasks. The students in the Workmen's Faculty are under obligation to engage in some civic activity during the academic year, and particularly during the vacation periods, when they return and report to the bodies which have delegated them. The pupils in the Factory Schools are expected to

live the civic life of the factory, in which they also work as apprentices. The students of the Schools for Peasant Youth are the selected and politically active younger elements of a rural community, and are expected to contribute to the work of the village reading-room, which is the center of political education and activity in a peasant village. For the students of higher technical institutes and universities, a certain amount of civic activity is obligatory. This service may be worked off in the liquidation-of-illiteracy centers, in the activities of a patronage society, or the various circles formed in the club of the institution. The contact with production for these students is secured by the formal obligation to supplement their studies by actual productive work along the lines of their field. For the summer months many are attached to a factory or institution. The practical application of this idea has not been wholly successful, however; there is much complaint from both sides, the students finding that they are getting little real training, and the management objecting to the nuisance and cost of these practicing apprentices. The civic activity and the practical work often have been mechanical and wasteful.

The Factory Schools would seem to express most completely the conception of the new school which the Soviet order will produce. They are situated in or near a factory or productive enterprise, and the trade-unions participate in the direction and support of these schools. The Komsomol was one of the initiators of these schools and continues to have a close, official relation to them. The pupils work and mingle with the older workmen and are therefore constantly under a proletarian influence. In the Workmen's Clubs the pupils of the school help in the activities; in one instance it was noted that the pupils did not have a club of their own within the school but used the neighboring Workmen's Club as the basis for their circle and other activities. Though the number of these schools is still comparatively limited, their growth has been most rapid, as compared with other types of schools. The corresponding Schools of Peasant Youth similarly illustrate uninterrupted contact with actual production and with the general social environment, although to a lesser degree because of geographic and general cultural conditions in a rural community.

The Soviet system of education has been discussed here as a unit. It was pointed out, however, that education is one of the fields in which the national republics of the Soviet Union have their separate though co-ordinated commissariats. A feature of the Soviet educational system is the use of the local language as the language of in-

struction in the schools. For its own autonomous national groups the Russian unit of the Soviet Union gives particular attention to the preparation of textbooks in the languages of the national minorities. Russian teachers are given special training for work in these national-minority schools, as native teachers have not yet been produced. The schools thus become one of the centers for development of the national consciousness of the more backward groups, and this national consciousness is promoted as a first step toward political consciousness. As preparation for educational work, several languages have been given a written form for the first time; and the publication of the first book has been made the occasion of a civic demonstration. The emphasis on regional study, for which the school programs provide, serves also to awaken interest in public affairs among the pupils and, through them, in the community as a whole. On the other hand, the spread of the Soviet schools and their programs to these national minority groups works in the interest of centralized control and unity.

The problem of the teaching staff for the "new school" has been a serious one for the Communist leaders. Many teachers were unfriendly if not actively hostile during the first years. The party organization, on the other hand, could not spare many workers to the educational field. It would require some time to train up a new generation of teachers. So it was necessary to use the old teachers under Communist leadership and control. Control was exercised over the teacher by a party committee in the rural districts, for example. In the cities the control of the Commissariat of Education could be more easily organized. The teachers were brought into the trade-unions, and another channel of influence and control was thus established. Regular and frequent conferences within the larger schools, and by districts for the smaller schools, were introduced. Special courses were organized to train and retrain teachers.

Only about 3 per cent of the teachers of all grades in the Soviet schools are party members. In the more important schools, the director, or at least the teacher in charge of the "Study of Society" courses, is usually a Communist. The members of the State Scientific Council, which has prepared the programs and passes on and recommends the textbooks to be used in the schools, also are Communists. Further, an Institute of Red Professors was established to expedite the training of new candidates for the teaching positions in the higher educational institutions, where it was necessary to continue to use the specialists trained under the old order. These latter could not be replaced immediately. They were obliged, as were all teachers, to pass

an informal test on Marxian doctrine. For the Revolution had proven, it was insisted, that the Marxian method is the only scientific school of thought, so that ignorance of it would make a teacher ridiculous in the eyes of the pupils or students.

Either as a result of these positive measures or as part of the general readjustments which have come with the passage of time, the teachers, formally at least, have accepted the new ideas and methods. They put themselves on record to this effect in a first congress held in January of 1925. In the "Declaration" adopted by this congress the teachers recognized their past mistakes when they were "romanticists deceived by the slogans of democracy and freedom, and the unconscious weapons of the class interests of the bourgeoisie by believing in the democratic harmony of classes." The declaration concluded with a series of messages. One message to "Comrade Communists" read: "The non-party people's teachers of the Soviet Union send you their fervent greetings. At our All-Union congress we declare before all toilers that from now on we do not separate our tasks from the tasks of the Communist party and from its magnificent struggle for a new world." To the teachers whom they represented, the members of the congress addressed the following message: "We have carried out your will. It is finished with the past. Limitless perspectives lie before us, and also difficult and responsible work. But from now on we are not alone. We are working with all the toilers of the world. We are with their experienced leaders; we are with the Communist party." Another paragraph of the declaration was directed to the "Teachers of All Countries" and read: "The Soviet authority is our authority. The Communist party is our party, and we trust it. Together with our people, with the Soviet authority, under the leadership of the Communist party, we are building a new life, a new school."

In turn the attitude of the Communists toward the non-party teachers has become one of confidence in their loyalty to the new ideas. The winning-over of the teachers is considered a great achievement of the Communist leadership of the Revolution. The measures to insure this leadership in the field of education have been noted. The Soviet teachers are led by the Marxist pedagogues. The newspapers and journals published for the teachers by their trade-union authorities in co-operation with the Commissariat of Education and the party give the Communist line in the general news and in the discussion of educational life and problems. The teachers in the rural districts are brought into political and civic activity through their participation in the village reading-rooms, which are formally under the Commis-

sariat of Education but politically directed by party and Komsomol. This obligation to help in local civic activity will develop in the teacher the pedagogical theories of the Communist leaders, it is believed. There is thus a constant pressure on the non-party teachers, from the Communist pedagogues, from the party authorities in general, and through the Komsomol and Pioneers. This pressure urges to greater effort in the carrying-out of the new ideas and methods in education and also in other general fields. The pressure also acts as a control over the teachers and their activities, which introduces an element of tutelage, at times and under local conditions amounting to a form of censorship.

The Russian teachers of the old régime were subjected to inspection and strict control in an effort to secure the indoctrination of certain political ideas in the pupils and students. It is difficult to compare two systems even when they show certain marks of resemblance. However, there is clearly a more active and vital interest in their work among the teachers of the new school as compared with the teachers of the schools of the old régime. Beyond this general statement, it is too early to draw conclusions as to the influence of the non-party Soviet teacher or the programs and methods which are worked out by the Communist pedagogues.

The rôle of the party, and particularly of the Komsomol and the Pioneers, in the program to give to education the character of Communist training was discussed in the chapters on "The Communist Party," "The Communist Union of Youth," and "The Pioneers of Communism"—chapters ii–iv, respectively. As what was said there was itself a summary, the reader is referred again to these chapters. It will be recalled that in the case of the Pioneer movement it is expected that its ideas will in time become those of the Labor School as a whole. The next chapter will discuss the institutions for special political education which have been organized for the period of transition until the network of regular schools will reach all children and will furnish to all the political education which is considered necessary for the Soviet citizen. The liquidation-of-illiteracy centers and the village reading-rooms which are under the Political Education Section of the Commissariat of Education represent also temporary expedients; with the development of the Soviet educational program these institutions will also have served their purpose.

A few generalizations may be made in conclusion of this necessarily summarized discussion of a very broad subject. In general, the Soviet school is part of the Revolution: it cannot remain outside of

the politics of the Revolution. Education is frankly subordinated to the program of activity which the Soviet government and the Communist party present to the country at each given period of the progressing revolution. The program now is that the Soviet Union develop into an industrialized country. This new political course has already influenced the educational policy, and technical training is being emphasized at the expense of general training. The conquests of the October revolution have brought a greater activity in the masses. This is to be utilized to speed up the economic processes, which must, however, be directed along socialist lines. A new and different cultural basis is necessary for the above aims, and the foundations of the new culture must be laid in the younger generation. There is encouragement for this work from all sides. School rebellions, when the schools have been unable to accommodate all the children, are reported with satisfaction. The masses are also interested in the quality of the schools, and it is believed that the majority of the workmen and peasants approve the new methods because they see positive, useful labor coming out from the new schools. Only the rich peasants, it is claimed, voice protest against the new school, on the ground that it does not always teach to read, write, and count, and also does not include religious training, which was emphasized in the old pre-revolutionary rural schools.

The official programs issued in 1923 were experimental; and after several years of insistence on their adoption, they are now being modified. Insistence on the fixed program was necessary, it was believed, in order to secure the start along new lines and make the break with the old methods and the old ideology. Now more attention can be given to the establishing of the formal disciplines without danger to the new aims of the school. Also, the programs have been considerably simplified. Finally it was decided that certain political topics, such as the causes of the World War or the Third International, should be postponed from the first and second years to the third and fourth. The general principles on which the programs were based have been shown to be correct by the results in many schools, was the conclusion drawn as a result of a general survey of the experience of the first period. So these general principles were to be retained as the basis of the methods of instruction in the Soviet school, for "the synthesis secured by the program would eliminate metaphysics and produce the materialist." Socially useful labor would help the pupil to understand the connections between the subjects of study. Although definite and even formal habits would be furnished to the child, the

means would not be considered the end. Thus the purposeful setting was always to be present in the school and its work. In the textbooks on mathematics, for example, the problems would be based on the questions of contemporary life, such as social insurance, the Soviet Union in the capitalistic environment, trade between city and country, or the armaments of capitalistic states.

"Purposeful setting" is a phrase which is encountered at every turn in discussions of the problem of education and training. Thus, for example, the child's joys must be directed, so that they may be made biologically and socially useful. In this way constructive effort, and even useful work, will be present in the very first developments of activism in the child. "Let the Child Just Play" is branded as a slogan of the bourgeoisie, which, it is claimed, fears the training of the masses, and particularly their training to overcome obstacles. Games are to reflect contemporary life; but there should be a direction and a kind of filtering process when the actively creative, mass force in contemporary life is revolutionary labor striving to a definite aim. So Soviet pedagogy must fit into organized, purposeful norms the elemental force of environment on play. The Communists themselves anticipate that opponents will call them vandals who deprive the children of the joy of play and, with their cruel dictatorship, invade the field even of the children's games.

The Communists insist that the Marxian doctrine does not imply an intellectual aristocracy. Its aim is first of all to explain life as it really is; and it is therefore as simple as life, they insist. For that reason it may be explained even to children of ten years of age if the proper form of explanation is chosen. The programs of the State Scientific Council represent such a form, it is believed. The Marxian approach to pedagogy will make the complex or project system on which these programs are based easier of application. In turn the project method of instruction will make it possible to put into every lesson, and even into every informal discussion with pupils, the Marxian theory of life, which can be illustrated not only in social phenomena but also in the field of natural sciences. So long as the teachers are not all Marxists, a substitute must be used, and this substitute is the "political grammar" which is taught generally by the Communist. Marxism is not the political grammar of the courses in the "Study of Society"; but political grammar must be used until the Marxian approach has become universal, as it is bound to become as the one and only truly scientific method, it is explained.

The result of the emphasis on a Marxian approach, as shown by

examination of pupils who have gone through the training of the Soviet programs, has aroused doubts in the minds of some of the Communist leaders. It has become in cases a habit for the pupil or student to start his answer to all questions with the phrase: "From the Marxian viewpoint." The mere parrotlike repetition of formulas in answer to questions has not failed to impress even the most ardent Marxists. In this connection it may perhaps be permitted to repeat a current story, allegedly illustrative of the kind of answers which the students are learning to give. According to the story a test question in "political grammar" asks what the individual would do in the event of an internal attempt to overthrow the Soviet régime. The answer that he would take up arms in defense of the government of workmen and peasants is not considered a satisfactory answer; the correct answer is that the student cannot conceive of such a situation.

The following sentences from a discussion of Soviet pedagogy by one of its most prominent proponents may perhaps be used to summarize what has been outlined in this chapter. These thoughts were expressed in a discussion of preschool training and represent what should be the aim from the very first stages of the educational process.

> The future Soviet citizen whom we are training must be a stalwart and healthy proletarian, a class and a revolutionary fighter, a scientifically conscious and organized builder of the new socialist state. He must be a dialectic materialist, armed to the teeth with the necessary knowledge and ability to oppose exploitation and mysticism in all its forms. He must be a collectivist in all economic and social activities, in order steadfastly to oppose private property and individualistic aims, on which the class of exploiters has built up its power. . . . . The future citizen must be a revolutionary-activist with habits of self-organization and of organization in common with others.

The writer then notes that opponents will shout that it is the grossest of vandalism to try to impose these traits on the child's organism. He states, however, that these traits are going to be developed in the Soviet child by active effort so that the latter will emerge from the schools of the Soviet system a dialectic materialist, a collectivist, an organizationist, and a revolutionary-activist. This four-term formula for the ideal of Soviet civic consciousness was noted, it will be recalled, in the chapter on the Soviet conception of citizenship. In one of the first decrees establishing the new Labor School one finds the following statement: "The whole work of the school must aim to develop in the pupils proletarian class consciousness and the instincts proper to it, to em-

phasize the solidarity of all workmen against capital, and to prepare the children for useful productive and social activity."

Academies and institutes of research have been established to further the aims of Soviet pedagogy. In the more strictly political and economic fields the Institute of Marx and Engels and the Lenin Institute have been noted; they also influence educational methods and the types of programs and textbooks by their extensive publication activities. More particularly, one has the Communist Academy, which is the center of theoretical Communist thought; it is supplemented by an Academy of Communist Training of the Youth. One finds also a Leningrad Institute on the Methodology of Marxism and the White Russian Society of Marxist Historians. At the beginning of 1928 a first All-Union Conference of Marxist-Leninist Scientific Research Institutions was held, at which the work and projects of these academies and institutes were reported and discussed. At the same time it is urged that the idea of dialectic materialism must be propagandized and popularized among the masses to become a real force; Marxian philosophy must not be confined to official organizations, such as the philosophy section of the Communist Academy, for example. In the thirty-volume *Soviet Encyclopedia*, of which ten volumes have already appeared, all articles discuss their subject from the Marxian viewpoint, the Preface states; and the articles are written for the reader with a secondary-school education, for, as one writer recently summarized a constantly repeated statement, "Marxism is not a kind of party dogma; it is the most objective scientific and all-sided method of understanding all social phenomena."

In December, 1927, there was held a first Pedological Congress; Krupskaya defined "pedology" as the new science studying the laws on the forming of the developing personality of the child, differing radically from the "old" psychology. The latter, she explained, fitted in admirably with idealism, while pedology was essentially materialistic. There were over 2,000 delegates at the congress, representing all scientific tendencies. It is stated in the official organ of the party that as a result of this important congress, pedology will become part of the everyday pedagogical practice. The hitherto planless studies of pedagogy are to be dropped, and an "organized regulation and systematization of the study of the problem is to be introduced by an All-Union commission." It was further reported that the congress showed clearly the impossibility for the Soviet pedagogue to work without the Marxian platform. At the last session of the congress Bukharin made a long report in which he explained to the workers in

pedagogy how to apply the dialectic Marxian method to their materials. For the work of this congress was said to have summarized all the material on the study of man which has been worked up during the ten years of the Revolution, the materials presented to the congress not being limited to the narrower special questions relating to the child. Another statement by Krupskaya in discussing the first Pedological Congress points out that Marxian pedagogy has played a very important rôle by disclosing the class character of pedagogy and by showing what should be the peculiar characteristics of pedagogy in a revolutionary period of transition. She remarked that though the ten years of the existence of the Soviet authority have done much to spread Marxian pedagogy in the Soviet Union, nevertheless the last years have shown that a complete revolution in the field of methods of teaching and training is necessary, in order to attain the aims which Marxian-Soviet pedagogy has set itself. For she found many "old, musty" methods in the Soviet schools, although there were also "sprouts of something new."

CHAPTER XIII

SOVIET INSTITUTIONS OF POLITICAL EDUCATION

Politprosvet is an abbreviation that is currently used to cover the work of the institutions which will be brought together in this chapter; the abbreviation stands for political educational work. Either the Political Education Section of the Commissariat of Education or the Agitational-Propaganda Section of the Central Committee of the party directs this work, always in collaboration with the other. In each province, district, and canton there is a local "Politprosvet," or political education section. The "Agitprop," or Agitational-Propaganda Section of the Central Committee of the party, has its local provincial, district, and cell sections. The Cultural-Educational Commissions of all Soviets have their sections or subcommissions on political education, as have also the cult-sections of trade-union bodies. The Komsomol and the Pioneers are brought into this work as part of their own activity and through the party. The Social Training Section of the Commissariat of Education and its local representatives co-operate closely with the Politprosvet of each area. The composition of a cantonal Politprosvet illustrates the bringing together of these various elements in the work of political education. This body is the local authority of the Commissariat of Education; but the local Soviet, the trade-union local committee, the local co-operative, the party and Komsomol cells of the canton, and representatives of the intelligentsia of the rural community, such as the school teacher, agricultural expert, and doctor, are included, in a consultative capacity, being instructed by their respective authorities to render all possible assistance to the work of political education. The village reading-room—*izbachitalnia* (or "peasant reading-hut" as the name is sometimes translated)—is the center of the political educational work. The *izbach*, or director of the village reading-room is appointed by the cantonal Politprosvet in agreement with the local party cell. At a first congress of the workers in political education Lenin had stated: "We shall insist that in the work of political education the supremacy of the party be openly recognized."

The Political Education Section developed from a former Outside-School Section of the Commissariat of Education. As all cultural and

educational work among adults was considered necessarily political in character, it was decided to rename this section and extend its scope. One of the internal party tasks is the political education of its members. This is also one of the aims of the Union of Communist Youth. The co-ordination of these two agencies in the work of political education, was therefore logical. In all fields of political activity the Communist or Young Communist must assume leadership and enforce the political line of the party. It was therefore to the Agitprop that was intrusted the direction of the training of members, and this section is one of the most important in the party organization. Political education workers of the party are brought together periodically in congresses, by districts, provinces, and national republics; and an All-Union congress gives unity of direction to the work.

Under these two authorities one has a large variety of institutions. The liquidation-of-illiteracy centers should be classified under this heading, as will be explained presently. The village reading-rooms are the centers of political education in the rural districts. The schools of "political grammar," of which there are several grades, represent the fullest expression of the idea of political education. The Conferences of Delegates of Workwomen and Peasant Women have among their functions one which gives to them the character of schools for political education. Then there are the Soviet-Party School, the Communist University, and the Communist Institute of Political Education for the training of political leaders and of workers in political education. There are also in Moscow the Communist University of the Orient and the Communist University of the National Minorities of the West. Under a special department of the Commissariat of War, but with the co-operation of the two civilian bodies, one has the political courses in the Red army, which do the best and most fully organized work of any of the institutions of *Politprosvet;* here there is a program with fixed curricula and hours, as well as what is called "outside-school" activity. The political-grammar circles, of clubs, Factory Committees, and educational institutions have already been discussed; but these must be mentioned again, as they supplement the more formal, institutional work in political education.

The liquidation of illiteracy is considered part of political educational work. Lenin had said that with illiteracy there could be no full understanding of political issues and therefore no effective participation in political activity. Not even the slogans would have their full effect if the workmen or peasants could not read the banners under

which they were marching. When new and particular attitudes and kinds of activity are the aims of the political leaders, the ability to read the material which is published to create these attitudes and promote the desired activity is essential to the success of the movement. The centers for promoting literacy have been, and still are being, given particular attention under the Political Education Section of the Commissariat of Education, for they act as a dam just able to prevent an increase in the number of illiterates while the primary schools are still unable to accommodate all the children of school age. The scope of their work has been outlined in the discussion of the civic and other organizations which are brought into it. Here it is necessary to note only two features. In the first place the subject matter used in this work is always political in character, so that these older persons who are being taught to read and write may at the same time be made more conscious and active citizens. In the second place, the liquidation of illiteracy among the national minorities adds to the emphasis on national language, which is one of the means adopted to awaken civic consciousness in these more backward Soviet citizens.

The liquidation-of-illiteracy centers represent only the introduction to outside-school educational work among adults. In the large cities are being organized Schools for the Semi-Literate, Schools for Adults of Higher Grade, and finally Workmen's Universities, functioning evenings and Sundays. The opening of a Peasant University in Moscow was recently suggested and discussed. These institutions have, first of all, a general educational program; but in all of them the distribution of subjects puts particular emphasis on the social sciences. Under what are termed "social-political and literary" subjects the following are listed in the programs of the schools of the higher grade for adults: political grammar, political economy, economic geography, history of the development of social forms, history of the class struggle in the West and in Russia, history of the Communist party, history of the I, II, and Red Internationals (Trade-Union International, Communist Youth International, Peasant International, Communist International), Marxism, Leninism, and literature. A monthly illustrated journal is published under the title *Down with Illiteracy;* the extensive use of illustrations and diagrams throughout the text makes it possible to put elementary articles on political and economic subjects before those who are just beginning to master the technique of reading.

Temporary special schools for the liquidation of illiteracy among the youth have been started recently. These schools aim to reach the

young people who were unable to enter the Labor School during the last few years either because of lack of room or because of the economic dislocation in the particular family. These are one-year courses, organized in the rural districts as well as in the cities. The building and staff of the regular school is used in the evening. The emphasis is on political and trade-union training, as all of these young people have learned to read and write and many have already been drawn into active life as wage-earners. Some may catch up with and enter the regular schools, but in general the aim of these schools is to prepare these young people to carry on by themselves. Here also the subject matter and material are selected with a view to giving those who will soon be full citizens some elements of political education. The project method of the regular schools is used in these special schools. The first problem is the "October Revolution," and for the two weeks preceding the annual celebration the young people study the principles of the Revolution. The "Soviet Union and Other Countries" is the next subject. "Lenin" is a third theme, in preparation for Lenin Day in January. The anniversary of the Red army in February gives the basis for the following subject. In March is the "Day of the Workwoman." May first is used as the next landmark and subject. The political education work is emphasized in these special schools in order to interest the pupils who by force of circumstances have been passed over by the regular schools and who, because of their age and experience, would not respond to the elementary curriculum of the latter. Some natural science and knowledge of hygiene are also crowded into the necessarily condensed programs of these schools. The Workman University and Peasant University mentioned above are too recent in origin to permit of characterization, though the first aims to emphasize "trade-union grammar" and the second "co-operative grammar," as part of political education.

In the large industrial and urban communities there are innumerable centers in factories and clubs through which the workmen and also the toiling intelligentsia are reached by the Politprosvet. In a rural community it has been necessary to create such a center, and it is the "*izbachitalnia*," or village reading-room. Sometimes a whole building (that is, a small peasant hut) will be set aside to house this institution. Often a room in some other institution, such as the co-operative, will be all that it has been possible to give to the headquarters for this work. In smaller villages there will be simply a Red Corner in the co-operative store, the village school, or the Soviet headquarters. The term adopted here of "village reading-room," in translation of

the Russian name, would seem to correspond more closely to the facts of the situation than such a term as "village library" or even "village reading-hut," often met in books on the subject of the Soviet Union. A fully equipped reading-room will have its permanent director, the *izbach.* The organization of small libraries and of files of periodical publications gives this institution its name. This was its first and main activity. Group, out-loud reading of the newspapers, on a systematic plan, was then developed. The reading-rooms soon began to organize information bureaus. With the spread of the Komsomol to the rural districts, the reading-room became its basis of organization; in fact, the Komsomol was assigned the special task of assisting and directing in the work of this center of political education. Wall newspapers, Lenin Corners, various types of circles, particularly dramatic circles, grew up around and in this center. The celebration of the revolutionary holidays often is organized by the reading-room. A workmen's patronage society for a given village uses the reading-room as one of its channels of assistance and influence. The *izbachitalnia* is thus the club of the village. Special attention is being given to the training of its director, the *izbach.*

Too frequently the Komsomol interpreted its special duty with respect to the reading-room literally, by appointing one of its members as *izbach.* Such a young leader carried little authority with the older peasants, it was soon discovered. Also, the Komsomol often tended to monopolize the reading-room for its formal and informal gatherings, so that the older peasants did not use it. In a discussion between a peasant and a Communist which the writer provoked by asking to see the village reading-room, this fact was brought out. The older peasant replied that the institution had fortunately been closed down, as it served only to increase the rowdyism in the youth and had been of no practical use to him. The Communist was forced to admit that it was found advisable to discontinue the reading-room because the older peasants did not evince any interest in it. During the last years, however, the villages have been the particular objective in the organization and extension of *Politprosvet.* This has meant more attention to the leadership and equipment of the reading-rooms, and a greater control by the political education section mentioned above.

The number of village reading-rooms operating in 1926 was estimated at 40,000. Some of these may have been only Red Corners, where newspapers and pamphlets could be found and read. In a trip to a group of villages extremely modest centers were seen in the larger settlements, while in the other villages there was no trace of the insti-

tution. At the beginning of 1928 it was estimated that as a result of further growth there was this modest center of political education in about one-fifth of the villages of the Russian unit of the Soviet Union. Some of these centers have a permanent library, while others are served by a "migratory library," as it is called.

The school of political grammar is the most distinctive and definite institution for political education. The term *politgramota*, or "political grammar," has been used already in the discussion of general education and of other institutions. Here one has a whole network of schools and circles, organized on a systematic plan, with fixed programs of study. This school is intended primarily for the party or Komsomol member, but about 15 per cent of the enrolment is non-party. Moscow with its province has the most comprehensive network of schools of political grammar. The types found here are theoretically general for the whole Soviet Union, but the more distant and backward provinces have not yet been covered by the complete series of types and grades. The following practice was in force with respect to these schools up to May, 1927, when certain changes were introduced, which will be noted presently. All candidates for membership in the party must pass through the "reduced" program of political grammar. All members must within a certain period after admission complete the course of a normal political-grammar school. It is possible to substitute for these requirements corresponding work in regular schools or work done by self-instruction. The actual assignment in particular schools is adapted to the conditions of work of each member. The higher grades of political education are voluntary, but completion of them leads to promotion in party work and in Soviet, trade-union, and other activity. Thus it is the aim to have the entire party membership pass through one or more of the various schools of political grammar. In the urban centers this is accomplished to a very considerable extent. In the rural districts the difficulties are greater, particularly because of distance. The rural schools, both stationary and migratory, are held in the three winter months, meeting three times a week; but the party member often has to travel quite a distance to attend the school. The smaller rural cells and the isolated members are not reached. Sometimes courses will be organized in a special congress extending over two weeks. Individual and group self-instruction has been started in the cities and is to be organized also for the Communists scattered in the rural districts.

In the rural districts the school of political grammar is expected to have an immediate political influence. Its members bring more life

and consciousness into the Soviet elections, for example. More particularly, with the help of the instructor sent down from the higher unit of the party organization, the discussions in the school are expected to give more vitality to the work of the local Communist cell. The younger elements of the membership of the party, through, and under cover of, the work in the school, are to correct the line of the party cell as enforced by the older, intrenched bureaucracy of the party body.

The programs of study vary according to the grade of the school. The shortest program is that of the rural migratory school, which moves from center to center. There are fifteen sessions of "conversation," of two hours each. The discussions are on the following topics: industry and agriculture in capitalistic countries and the Soviet Union; the cementing of the workman class and of the peasantry, and the Soviet authority; the essence of the New Economic Policy; state industry and its rôle in the socialistic economy of the Soviet Union; the classes in the peasantry, and the policy of the party toward these various classes; co-operation and the road toward socialism for the village (2 sessions); the main tasks of the work of the party in the present period; the party and the Soviets in the village (2 sessions); the Komsomol and its work in the village; the party, the workmen, and the peasants in the struggle against tsarist autocracy; the party, the workmen, and the peasants in the February and October revolutions; the party, the workmen, and the peasants at the end of the civil war and in the period of the New Economic Policy; and the rôle of the Soviet Union in the present epoch, and the prospects of world revolution. In the rural stationary school there are twenty-two sessions, with the following additional subjects: the Soviet Union and the liberation of oppressed peoples; the peasantry, the workman class, and its party on the road to and during the revolution of 1905 (3 sessions); 1905 to the Imperialists War. Also several subjects are spread out over two sessions in the longer course.

In the shorter urban political grammar school there are fifteen sessions on the following subjects: the structure of the party and the obligations of members of the Communist party; the Communist party—the workmen's party; the party and the trade-unions; the Communist party and the dictatorship of the proletariat; the principles of the economic policy of the party; state industry and the building of socialism in the Soviet Union; the cementing of state industry and peasant agriculture as the guaranty of the success of the socialist constructive work; the road to socialism in the village; the struggle

of Bolshevism against opportunism in preparing the proletariat for the first revolution (1905); Bolshevism and opportunism between the two revolutions; the party and the workman class in the struggle of October in defense of its conquests; the Bolsheviks in the struggle for the party after October; the Communist party and the Communist International; the Soviet Union and the world-revolution. For the normal urban school, there are twenty-four sessions, with the following additional topics of study: the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat (2 sessions); the distinguishing features of capitalistic industry and of our state industry; the tendencies of capitalistic economy and of our people's economy; capitalism in Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the birth of the party of the workman class; the financial and tax policies of the Soviet authority; the New Economic Policy and the trade-unions; the tactics of the Communist party; the principles of organization of the party. Some of the other subjects are divided up into two subtopics, in view of the possibility of more detailed treatment under a longer program.

The program for the normal urban school of political grammar is published in a fuller form, which outlines the main thoughts to be brought out in the discussion of each subject. Questions are given at the end of each "conversation," and the students are expected to answer them. If space permitted, it would be interesting to give the main thoughts outlined for each discussion; as they are themselves summaries, they cannot be further summarized. One such summary might be given here, selected as bearing particularly on our subject: the discussion is of the Soviet governmental structure, and the first paragraph of the summary of the lesson reads:

> As opposed to a capitalistic state, in which the workmen and peasants "by the help of various methods and tricks are pushed aside from participation in political life and from the utilization of democratic rights and liberties, in the Soviet state these masses are brought into constant, unopposed and also effective participation in the democratic administration of the State" (Lenin). The revolutionary constructive work of these masses leads and can lead to communism only under the leadership of the vanguard of the proletariat—the Communist party. Therefore the proletariat of the Soviet Union carries out its dictatorship and its leadership of all toilers of the Soviet Union through the All-Union Communist party.

For the party workers, such as secretaries and members of cell bureaus, organizers of agitation and propaganda or agitators, there are the special-subject circles and the courses for the "party active ele-

ment." The most important of these "high schools" of political grammar are the Marx-Lenin Circles, meeting once a week and devoting a whole academic year to a particular subject. For the directing party active element, which includes the secretaries of higher organs of the party, seminars are held at which the most important questions of party life and policy are studied and worked over more in detail.

The Conferences of Delegates of Workwomen and Peasant Women have regular programs of study which make them also, in a way, schools of political grammar. The very existence of these conferences is based on the recognition of the backwardness of the women of the workman and peasant classes in political consciousness and knowledge. Theoretical political education is therefore particularly necessary for the women. The conferences average sixty to one hundred members, and in such large groups the discussion method of the school of political grammar is less applicable. Also, the women read much less than the men, and therefore the lecture method is more extensively used. One has the same general themes of the programs of the urban political grammar school in the conferences for workwomen. For peasant women the program is somewhat shorter and simpler. There are twelve themes: the position of the peasant women in the Soviet Union; what is the Soviet authority?; the cantonal budget and taxes; in our country there are no oppressed nationalities; agriculture; industry; co-operation; the Communist party and the union of the workmen and the peasants; Lenin on the workwoman and the peasant woman; what are the Komsomol and the Pioneers?; the woman delegate—the skirmisher for the new life; and the peasant woman, the Soviet authority, and education. In the published program the main thoughts for each theme are given together with materials in the form of statistical tables and general descriptive articles. This small volume of one hundred and thirty pages is sold for about thirty cents. In addition, several small pamphlets are published for the study activities of the Delegates' Conferences, as for example the *Political Grammar for the Peasant Woman.*

A complete set of textbooks are published for the programs of the various grades of schools of political grammar, and for the Soviet-Party Schools, to be described below; these are supplemented by "Collections of Readings." Like the programs, this literature is published by the Agitprop of the Central Committee of the party, and is based on Marxism-Leninism. One of the most convenient editions of selected writings of Lenin, in four volumes, has been edited as a textbook for these schools. General histories, geographies, and outlines of po-

litical economy have also been prepared with a view to use in these schools. The content and emphasis in the textbooks are the same as in the programs. In all of the works the prepared formula is very prominent; in some, the conclusion to be drawn at the end of the discussion is given, so that in a way the lesson becomes a kind of political catechism, particularly as the students do not generally have any background of history, geography, or economics. Thus there has developed centralization of program, and of direction in general, of the educational work of the party. The main Political Education Section of the Commissariat of Education co-operates in the preparation of this literature. A directing periodical is published by each of these authorities of government and party. To avoid parallelism, the Agitprop emphasizes the lower grades and the Politprosvet the upper.

The distribution of party members to the various grades of school in accordance with their background preparation is not always successful. Many of the members are assigned to the schools of political grammar who really need to go first to a liquidation-of-illiteracy center or to a School for the Semi-Literate. The number of the latter was over 3,000 in 1926–27, of which about 800 were in Moscow alone. Even this large number was found much too small to meet the actual requirements, for there was a very keen interest in them among workmen. It is the plan to increase their number to meet this demand and to serve as special preparatory courses for the schools of political grammar. It may be suggested that the reason for the popularity of these schools giving more general education is that the workmen-members of the party are becoming weary of political grammar. Party members attending such general schools must however be assigned to special party study at their place of work, in fulfilment of their obligation to increase their political and party theoretical knowledge.

By 1927 about 433,000 members of the party had been reached by this network of political education; there were some 17,000 units of party schools. Among rural Communists the political education of the party members had made slower progress; many of these were still "politically illiterate," to use a current term. The examination of all members in connection with the reregistration of the party membership brought out this fact; it was found that many local Communists did not know the program adopted at the last congress of the party, and even did not know that there had been such a congress. The Komsomol has its own urban schools of political grammar distinct from those of the party, organized on much the same basis but with shorter programs. By 1926 the Komsomol had organized 24,000 units for

political education, which embraced 487,000 urban members; by the end of 1927 the number had increased to 50,000 units; the Komsomol schools of political grammar had begun to spread to the rural districts. In the villages, however, the work of the Komsomol in and around the village reading-room often was the scope of their political education and training.

The changes in the methods of party education referred to above represented the giving of a greater freedom of choice in the matter of study. The mechanical assignment to a school of political grammar was to be reduced to the minimum. Presumably each member was still to report continued work in the line of political or general training and education; but membership in voluntary study groups, or attendance at courses or schools for adults of a general character, was to be considered as fulfilling this requirement of all party members. The Komsomol member or the candidate for party membership was under strict obligation to attend and complete certain lower grades of political grammar schools, however. It was believed that the strict enforcement, with respect to party members, of the obligation to attend a school of political grammar was justified up to the last few years. During the first years of the Revolution, it was explained, the obligation to study was not felt as an outside, compulsive force because of the keen interest in elementary political education, while the recognition of the need of such education made the obligatory training in fact free and voluntary. According to a statistical study made in 1927 by the Central Committee of the party, of the 1,061,000 members and candidates (not including those in the Red army), 40.8 per cent, or 433,147, had finished a party school of some kind. Of this number, 29.1 per cent, or 309,600, had completed the schools of political grammar, excluding the rural types of such, 148,734 having taken the normal course and 160,866 the reduced course. Of the total membership of the party, 5.9 per cent, or 62,212, had completed the Soviet-Party Schools, 42,341 having completed the first stage and 19,871 the second stage. Less than .3 per cent of the total membership, or 3,155 members, had completed the Communist higher educational institutions. Only 58,180, or 5.5 per cent, had completed the rural schools of political grammar.

These figures were interpreted as justifying the use of the principles of rigid obligation and mechanical assignment, this accomplishment having been attained since 1924 when party education was put on a systematic basis; before that date the political literacy of the party members was of a very low level. Through these schools the

membership of the party, and also many non-party workmen, had been given the elements of a Communistic ideology. It was this political and cultural development that made necessary the adoption in May, 1927, of the principle of voluntary registration in the schools of political grammar, it was explained. For these schools were not meeting the demands of the party members or even of the active element of the non-party workmen. Their programs were characterized by one writer as "universal in their scope but very meager as to depth." Attendance had become irregular, and the pupils were grumbling; one workman was reported to have remarked: "All they tell us in those schools we have heard already in reports or have read in the newspapers." An investigation in the province of Ryazan, near Moscow, revealed that both types of schools of political grammar, in city as well as in village, "are losing their authority not only among party members and members of the Komsomol but also among the non-party active elements." It was stated that even the peasants among the members of the party were avoiding the schools. It was suggested that there should be a more fundamental study of the history of the party and of its program and statutes, and a study of the current problems of the party; and it was pointed out that the mass membership clearly wished to study general subjects, such as questions of agricultural improvement or of co-operative organization.

The adoption of the principle of voluntary choice of the form of political education began to give good results within a few months. At the beginning of the academic year 1927–28 the number of voluntary circles discussing current political problems or some particular subject was found to have increased. The full statistics for this current year are not yet available; but on the basis of those at hand, which are interpreted as showing the continued tendency on the part of the membership to avoid the political grammar schools and prefer schools of a more practical character and with more general programs, there is continued discussion of the crisis in, and the need for reforming, party education. Special attention was given to the arrangements for the political training of the large contingent of new members admitted to commemorate the tenth anniversary. The majority of the new members had already had an elementary political training in school circles; these were carefully distributed to the schools of political grammar or to circles or to the Soviet-Party Schools on the basis of their previous training and their own demands, and even here for the "candidates" the principle of voluntary choice

was applied; only those who had not passed through any schools had to attend the schools of political grammar in obligatory procedure.

The methods of the political grammar school, which have been criticized as showing serious defects, continue to be applied. At the beginning of 1928 the Agitation-Propaganda Section of the Central Committee of the party sent out instructions to all Agitprops of party committees and propaganda groups of the Central Committee on the study of the decisions of the fifteenth congress of the party. There was to be a systematic study, according to an inclosed plan, among all party members and members of the Komsomol, and not simply among the so-called "active elements" of the two organizations. Thus all the Soviet-Party Schools, the schools of political grammar, and also the Delegates' Conferences, were to take up this study. The program fell under four headings, the first being "Leninism and the Trotsky Opposition." The second group consisted of "Questions of the Five-Year Plan of Economic Construction" with a subsection on "The Teachings of Lenin on Socialist Construction and the Directions of the Party on the Five-Year Plan." The third section was entitled "Questions of Work in the Village," and in the first subsection the first subject of study was the "Teaching of Lenin on the Socialist Reconstruction of the Village." The fourth section was on "International Questions"; the first theme was "Leninism and the Line of the Party in International Questions"; and the last theme was "Current Tasks of the Communist International. In addition, there were special plans for the program of political education of the October contingent of new members, which began in January, 1928. In the first and second special contingents of new members a very strong tendency to "drift with the current" or "tag along" had been noted. It was believed that this tendency would be less strong in this new contingent, but to combat it particular emphasis was to be laid on the question of the rôle of the vanguard with respect to the mass and with respect to its own class. Of the new members there would be a considerable percentage of workmen who had never seen a capitalistic factory. They had learned of the conditions of work in capitalistic factories only indirectly and more or less casually, from newspapers where the life of workmen in capitalistic countries was described. It was considered particularly necessary that these new members should have fixed clearly in their consciousness the socialistic character of the Soviet industry, which, it was explained, implied a quite different kind of task for the workman with respect to his own industry as compared with the attitude of a workman toward a capitalistic factory.

Above the schools of political grammar and the Marx-Lenin Circles are institutions of a higher grade for political educational work. Such are the Soviet-Party School and the Communist University. Non-party individuals are sometimes admitted to the former but never to the latter. The Soviet-Party School or the Communist University is a strictly party institution, supported and run by the party. Sometimes these institutions are spoken of as "party schools," and their work as "party educational work"; they do, in fact, represent party education within the general field of political education.

The Soviet-Party Schools are of two degrees, the schools of the first degree being found in the larger district and smaller provincial cities; and those of the second degree in the large provincial cities and in the capitals of Moscow and Leningrad, and of the national republics. In 1926–27 there were 47 Soviet-Party Schools of the first and 51 of the second degree, with a total registration of 13,325 students. The number had decreased since 1925–26 as a result of the development of schools of political grammar and of the introduction of shorter evening courses of a grade somewhat lower than the regular Soviet-Party School. The applicant for admission to the first degree school must be able to read and write, must know arithmetic and algebra, and must have covered the ground of the program of a reduced political grammar school. For the second degree the candidate must be able to write reports and have a political education equivalent to the program of the first degree, or at least of a normal political grammar school. Also, the student must have been a member of the party or Komsomol for at least two years in order to enter the second-degree Soviet-Party School. Local party committees select and send up the students on a quota basis, and support the family of the student during his course of study.

A further requirement for admission to the Soviet-Party School is a production qualification, supplemented by a civic-activity qualification. In one Moscow school of the second degree, over one-third of the students of the first year had been "producers" for more than five years, and all had been in active productive work for at least one year; service in the Red army was reckoned as productive activity. The civic activity of these students covered a very wide range. A large number had been secretaries of Communist or Komsomol cells, of the important factory cell in the case of some twenty; others had been members of bureaus of cells. Some of the women had been women organizers of cells or local committees, in charge of the local Conference of Delegates of Workwomen and Peasant Women. Then there

were chairmen or members of village Soviets and cantonal executive committees of Soviets. Managing boards of co-operatives and trade-union factory committees were also represented in the group. There were several party agitation-propaganda workers and directors of political education in village reading-rooms. About one-fifth were young women, and four-fifths were young men. Of the 213 in this first-year group, 134 were workmen, 49 were peasants, and 30 were office workers. The average ages were between twenty-three and twenty-six years.

In the Party-Soviet Schools the aim frankly is to train agitators and propagandists. General education is reduced to the minimum; the students are brought up to certain requirements in mathematics, Russian language, and natural history, if necessary; but the main emphasis is on the history of the class struggle—that is, of the Revolution, the history of the Communist party, and Soviet structure, or the form and functioning of the Soviet government. There is no specialization for particular kinds of work such as directors of village reading-rooms, managers of co-operatives, or organizers of Workmen's Clubs. The students are prepared for party work in general, as leaders in all and every field of activity, as agitators and propagandists. The "agitator," according to one of the shorter definitions, is the person who gets the single idea across to a large group; while the "propagandist" aims to bring a whole set of ideas to a smaller group. The terms are used with the same mark of respect as the word "teacher." It should be noted also that the agitator or propagandist is expected not only to expound the teachings of Lenin but also always to be ready and prepared to resist with decision all antiproletarian and anti-Communist tendencies in the workman class and in the peasantry.

The highest institutions for political education are the Communist universities and institutes with a four-year course of study. The Sverdlov Communist University at Moscow is the largest and most important of this type of institution. It is housed in the excellently equipped buildings of a former private educational institution, and the rector is one of the older party workers. In the matter of equipment this was the best educational institution visited. Maps and statistical diagrams on the walls of corridors and rooms were particular features of the equipment; the tasks and problems on which the students were working were thus kept constantly before them in a very literal sense. An enormous political map of the world was so arranged in a rest room that the students could sit and absorb it.

The Communist University of the National Minorities of the

West was founded in 1921, and in 1926 graduated its second contingent of workers. It has its larger section in Moscow and a smaller one in Leningrad. Some 200 were graduated; there were among them Lithuanians, Jews, Poles, White-Russians, Germans, Esthonians, and Finns. A few non-party students had been admitted and had graduated without joining either party or Komsomol. The course of study had been for four years. All the graduates are expected to take responsible positions in Soviet, party, or trade-union bodies in the region of their nationality, particularly in the rural districts. These representatives of non-Russian districts had been able to acquire the broader experience and the spirit of the proletarian center of the Revolution and to learn Russian and the life and conditions of Russian workmen and peasants. Each summer during their course of study of four years the students had returned to the district from which they came, for the practical work required by the program and also to remain in close contact with their districts. Regular correspondence with the party workers in their home districts was also part of the required activity of the students during their period of study in the capital. They also had to do practical work among Russian workmen and peasants.

The Communist University of Sun Yat Sen is an institution distinct from the other higher party schools. Its enrolment is from China in the main, although India, Japan, and Korea are also represented in the student body. The course of study is much the same as that of the Communist University of the National Minorities of the West, though it is somewhat more difficult to bring these students from the Orient into the practical activities among Russian workmen and peasants, which is an important part of their training. Other higher party educational institutions of the same general character may be named: Moscow Political Education Institute, Communist University for the Toilers of the Orient, or Ural-Siberian Communist University, which aim to train party workers qualified in the theory and practice of proletarian revolution.

Crowning all these schools and institutions for training in the principles of Marx and Lenin are the institutes for research in the writings and teachings of these leaders. The Marx-Engels Institute has brought together the largest single collection of the writings of these leaders and of commentaries on them, and is proceding with the publication of their complete works in several languages. Of even more immediate political interest is the Institute of Lenin, for whose headquarters a new building has just been completed on one of the

central squares of Moscow. This institute is the depository for all the original material on Lenin and will be responsible for the publication of his complete works and commentaries on them.

For the various types of schools of political education the laboratory method of teaching has been introduced. The summaries of some of the programs show how this method has been adapted to the aims of the course. The collective working out by groups of the problem is also advised and is practiced to a certain extent. However, the habit of reporting to a listening group has been a feature of Soviet gatherings of all kinds, and many of the teachers also find that only by lecturing can the subjects be covered in the time allowed. The impression from the few casual visits to classrooms and the talks with instructors was that constructive discussion was hard to secure even when the students had a wide practical experience in production and public life behind them.

Much of the teaching is done by party members holding responsible positions in administrative and economic enterprises. This helps to make the studies more practical, at the same time making these educational institutions serve as good barometers of political and economic tendencies for the leaders. This is particularly true of the Communist Universities, where the students are in constant touch with the factories and villages from which they come, and by their questions and discussion bring before their instructors from active political life the burning questions about which the workmen and peasants are thinking.

The students of the Soviet-Party Schools or the Communist University are not called upon to engage in outside civic activity during the first year of study. Then, in the first summer vacation period they must return to their homes and work in the organizations that delegated them. During their second and following years the students must perform a certain minimum of outside public work. For many the assignment is the leadership in a school of political grammar; others are assigned to Workmen's Clubs. In the Sverdlov Communist University the students keep an hour-by-hour record of their work and activity. This "self-control" was unpopular at first but then came to be recognized as a useful form of training. One might add that it represented a novel practice for the average Russian, for whom time has never been a matter of strict consideration. A special cabinet directs, controls, and analyzes the civic activities of the students.

In the Soviet-Party School there is, where possible, a contingent from one of the national minorities. In one of the schools visited this

group was composed of Tatars. All of them could speak Russian, but it was necessary to teach them to read it. On that particular day they were reading and learning by heart a poem on Stenka Razin, the leader of a peasant rebellion in the seventeenth century. One of the students was asked to expound the poem in present-day terms, as if making a report to a group of workmen or peasants; thus the practical activity for which these students were being prepared was constantly kept before them.

The purpose of the political education of the party membership is that each shall in fact be the agency for carrying out the political line of the party in the surrounding non-party workman or peasant mass. One of the responsible workers in political education writes:

> The school of political grammar is to give the training which will make the party member in fact the leader, politically and culturally, among workmen and peasants, so that the latter will come always to the party member with their questions and doubts; what we are aiming for is to make every party member a genuine agitator for the party line, the interpreter of this line in the non-party masses.

The higher Soviet-Party Schools and Communist Universities have much the same aim, with a somewhat higher responsibility. A conference of the teachers in these special party institutions passed the following resolution:

> The decision of the congress of the party, which determined the tasks of the party and of the Soviet government in the complicated and contradictory conditions of the present period of socialist constructive work, should determine the content of the studies in the Soviet-Party Schools. The theoretical and historical background, and interpretation on the basis of Leninism, of the current tasks of the present struggle, and of socialist constructive work as they have been outlined for the next years by the fourteenth congress of the party, should constitute the central aim in the teaching of all social science disciplines in the Soviet-Party School.

In all of the party schools the aim is to increase the qualifications of the party active element for leadership. Bench-workmen particularly are urged to continue their studies beyond the requirements of party membership. Thus a new type is being aimed for, called the "propagandist-workman"; the political educational worker has tended to become a professional and even a bureaucratic element, and the effectiveness of his propaganda work has been reduced. It is desired that the propagandist in any given enterprise be a local man, and not an assigned speaker or instructor, who is looked upon as an outsider. Also, the recent tendency has been to try to introduce a larger amount

of general education among the party membership. It was realized that genuine political consciousness required the background of general knowledge, which had been sacrificed in the effort to produce as rapidly as possible the propagandist and the agitator. Mere agitation by the repetition of slogans was beginning to lose the effectiveness which it had in the first and more heroic period of the Revolution. The programs of the party schools were tending to produce the agitator, in the narrow sense of the word, rather than the real leader. This danger was recognized by the party leaders, who have been urging on party members that they undertake on their own initiative to increase their general knowledge, through the evening courses or universities which have recently been started. Such study is to be credited to the obligation of civic activity of party members.

It is in the Red army that one finds political educational work particularly well organized. The conditions are especially favorable: the soldiers are in the army for two full years, and all of their time, even during the hours of relaxation, is under control, or at least direction. The political education aims in part to increase the morale of the soldiers as fighters. But even during the years of civil war, when the Red army was organized, systematic educational work was instituted, independent of strictly military aims. At present the political courses in the Red army represent a general educational and cultural training, with emphasis on political training, as in Soviet education in general. All of this political educational work is directed by the Agitation Propaganda Section of the "Pur," as it is called. "Pur" is the abbreviation for Political Administration of the Republic, which is a department of the Commissariat of Military and Naval Affairs.

There are two approaches to the task of training the Red army soldier as a "fighter-citizen," to quote the term used constantly in the discussion of this subject. In the first place, there are the obligatory political courses which occupy two of the seven hours of daily drill. The political courses come at the beginning of the day, when the soldiers are fresher and better able to profit by the lectures and discussions. Then there are the voluntary activities outside the regular studies, carried on for the most part in the evenings. These activities are centered around the club of the regiment, and each unit of the regiment will have its Lenin Corner in its section of the barracks or camp. The leisure hours are thus utilized for the more general activities, of reading, work in circles, and general lectures on political and economic topics.

The program of formal study for the soldier calls first for atten-

tion to the illiterates among the fresh recruits each autumn. In 1925, 30 per cent of the young men brought to the colors were unable to read and write; in 1926 the percentage was less, having been reduced to 12 per cent by the work of the liquidation centers discussed above and by special preliminary training organized among the young men; the Komsomol has a duty here with respect to those of its members who will be called to military service. Then the regular program of the political courses is started, planned for the period of the two years of service. During the first year, the subjects of study are general, with political themes and interpretations constantly emphasized. During the second year, the subjects are more specific and are in the economic field, having in mind the preparation of the soldier for his return to productive life. The fuller outlines of the second year have not been available; the program of studies for the first year presents the greater interest for this study, however.

There are one hundred and thirteen "conversations" on corresponding themes in this program for the first year. The themes are divided into groups. The first group of twelve themes covers the reasons for military service, its organization, the importance of the political training courses, military discipline, military secrets, penalties and punishments, and finally the political rights and duties, and the exemptions and privileges of those in active military service. The second group on "The Red Army in Defense of the Soviet Union" has the following themes: how the workmen and peasants seized power; the union of workmen and peasants; the union of workmen and peasants as the basis of the Soviet authority; the dictatorship of the proletariat; our economic policy; the Soviet authority as the authority of workmen and peasants; the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics; the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic; the Republics of the Union; the president of the Central Executive Committee; and the president of the Soviet of People's Commissaries of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Group III of the program gives a short history of the Red army. Group IV discusses the Communist party and the Red army; the last theme in this group is: "The great precepts of Lenin are the tasks of the Communist party." Under Group V, which is headed "The Soviet Union in a Capitalistic Environment," each of the countries is taken up in turn; Great Britain heads the list and is given three sessions as compared with one session for France or America. Group VI is headed by the slogan: "If You Wish Peace, Be Ready for War," and the first theme of this group is on the danger of new wars. Group VII,

under the general heading of "International Organization of the Toilers," discusses first "our friends in the countries of the enemies," and then describes the Communist International, the "growth of the national revolutionary movement in colonial countries," and concludes with the theme: "the Red army is the armed force of the world-revolution."

Group VIII returns to a more detailed discussion of the structure of the Soviet state, including the general economic policy of the Soviet government. The land and forest codes are given particular attention. Under the general heading of "Foreign Capitalists and the Soviet Union," of Group IX, the repudiation of tsarist debts and the nationalization of foreign capital are discussed, as introduction to the outline of the policies of state monopoly of foreign trade, and of concessions granted to foreign capital. The last group of subjects has the very general title: "The Red Army Is the School of Conscious Citizens." This last group of themes is intended primarily for the peasant soldier. He is given a summary of the important institutions in the peasant village and of their organization and functions; the cantonal Soviet, the co-operative society, the Peasant Society of Mutual Assistance, state insurance, the party and Komsomol cells, the village reading-room and its military corner, military-preparedness propaganda in the village, the privileges and exemptions of demobilized soldiers, and the provision made for continued contact of the demobilized soldier with the regiment and with the Red army in general.

In the territorial units where the recruit is given a yearly short period of training for five years, the political courses are reduced in volume. This political educational work is given in the first and longest period. During the two to three months of the first training, fifty sessions of an hour and a half each are devoted to the political studies. Here the aim is the same as in the case of the soldier recruited into the regular army. By these lectures and discussions it is planned to "prepare a conscious and drilled defender of the Soviet authority, understanding clearly that the strengthening of the Soviet authority is possible only on the basis of a strong alliance between the workman class and the peasantry, under the leadership of the Communist party." The political studies here also precede the military drilling and are conducted in small groups in order to permit discussion. The general themes are the same as those given above, presented in more compact and shorter treatment.

The books containing the programs of the political courses give outlines of the discussions for the instructor or leader of the group.

For the territorial units the official programs are supplemented by full expositions, which can be read during the first hour of the period devoted to each theme. The main thoughts to be brought out, and in fact the conclusions which are to be drawn in each lesson are set down in precise wording. In this way the Marxian interpretation of history and the Communist interpretation of politics are assured. The explanations given on two points are particularly interesting. The instructor must give the proper shading in the discussion of the policy of peace which the Soviet government has adopted; the irreconcilable enmity of capitalist governments and the inevitability of world-revolution require certain qualifications of this policy. The second point on which there must be particularly careful exposition is the dictatorship of the proletariat. The audience of soldiers is mainly one of peasants. The hegemony of the workman class must be justified, and the leadership of the party to insure this hegemony more fully explained. It is emphasized that only harm will come from the attempts too often made to pass over in silence these two basic principles of the Soviet system. The peasant-soldiers must be made to see the need and reasonableness of these principles.

The fact that these lessons are conducted by the regular officers makes it necessary to fix very definitely the content and direction of the discussions, as is done by these programs and by the literature published to supplement them. Formerly special political workers, always Communists, were in charge of the political educational work in the Red army. These political workers had developed out of the Communist commissars who had been appointed in each military unit, among whose duties was also that of watching the old officers who were recruited into the Red army as technical experts. With the training of a new set of young officers from workmen and peasants, these special commissars were no longer needed. They were retained, however, as the political instructors. Within the last years these special instructors have been abolished, and the responsibility for the conducting of the political courses has been put on the regular commanding staff, although a political worker will assist the instructors by going over with them the material for the courses. There is one such political worker for each regiment. The Red army has its military-political as well as its military schools; and the political workers are trained in the former. Only Communists and Komsomol members are admitted to these schools. About three-fifths of the program of study is given to general and political education as opposed to strictly military training. The highest military educational institution is the

Military-Political Academy, and it trains particularly the political worker for the Red army.

The activities in the Red army in the field of political education are centered in the club or Lenin Corner of the barracks, or of the camp when the regiment is in the field for the summer months. Because of the question of discipline, the Lenin Corner is equipped for circle work and is more of a center than the Red Corner for workmen, while the club is used only for the mass activities of the regiment as a whole. In the Lenin Corner the soldier is supplied with books, pamphlets, and current periodicals. As the same room is used for the political courses, it will contain also the material used in the formal studies, and also the products of these studies in the form of diagrams. The soldiers organize, voluntarily, various circles, which, like the circles of workmen's clubs, are study groups. Some will take up agriculture or electricity as the subject of interest. The Political Circle is always one of the main groups. Dramatic and Musical Circles are generally organized on the basis of the regiment as a whole, through the larger club. Invariably, there will be the Circle of Soldier-Correspondents, which will also supply the active editors of the wall newspaper of the regiment. It should be noted that the soldier-correspondents send communications to the general press as well as to the special newspapers edited by the military authorities. In the summer months club and circle activities are reduced, except for athletics, although the Lenin Corners are taken along when the regiments go into camp, and become "Lenin Tents." Outside political workers come in to assist in the organization of lectures or in the activities of the circles.

In the territorial unit there is neither the time nor the equipment for outside school activity during the short periods when the soldier is with the colors. Between periods of training he is expected to engage in such activities in the Workmen's Club or the village reading-room. He also is responsible for organizing a Military Corner in these institutions, thus contributing to his own military training and also to the military preparedness of the workmen and peasants in general. Regional study is used as a basis in military training; the territorialist keeps in mind questions of strategy as well as general economic resources in the study of the region through a circle, trade-union, club, or village reading-room.

The use of newspapers and of current news in the political studies seems to have been worked out most completely in the political educational work in the Red army. The soldiers have more leisure for the reading of the newspaper than have either workmen or peasants. The

political workers in the Red army are better trained than those of any other institution, not excluding the party, and function "without the excesses of the stenciled model" to quote a Communist leader. In the barracks of one regiment there was noted an interesting method of guiding the reading of the newspapers. In the center of a large board was a map of the world, and on the sides were pinned current newspaper items on foreign events. For each clipping a thread lead to a point on the map to show where the event had taken place. The visit to these barracks was made at the time of alleged interventionist plans on the part of Poland. On another board were posted clippings relating to these alleged Polish machinations against the Soviet Union. A short list of books on Poland was also given on this bulletin board.

The political training of the Red army soldier is further promoted by the fact that he actually participates in the surrounding political and economic life. As already noted, he votes for the Soviets and is represented in them. The co-operative movement has its branches in the barracks. The workman-soldier is only a passive member of a trade-union during the period of military service, but he is reinstated without formality when he comes out from the Red army. He therefore continues to be interested in the trade-union movement and its development. The patronage societies of workmen with respect to a regiment provide for close contacts with production. In the territorial units, the soldier is withdrawn from production only for a short period of the year. Finally, the peasant families of soldiers are constantly writing to them about their troubles or difficulties, hoping that the son in the city can help with the problem. Such correspondence is encouraged, and in this way the peasant-soldiers keep in touch with village life, and also with the administrative organs to which they take the query or complaint which has come up from the village. All of this gives to the political studies and activities of the soldier a more practical aspect, it is claimed. For the army under the Soviet system is not to be allowed to become disassociated from the life of the country as a whole; it is, in fact, to be drawn actively into surrounding life, and into the political struggle as well as the cultural achievements of the Revolution.

During the last months of the period of service there is concentration on political training; more hours are given to the political courses and to the activities of the various circles, particularly those on co-operation, the village reading-room, and Soviet structure. In this way it is hoped to insure the active participation of the demobilized Red army soldier in these three fields. The training takes on a

somewhat more practical character through the use of reports by members and through questions and discussions on these reports. It is expected of every demobilized soldier that he will initiate a Military-Preparedness Corner in the village reading-room or at the training center of the territorial unit; if there is already such a corner, he is to contribute to its further development and popularization. So on this particular subject to which the demobilized soldier is to give special attention on his return to the factory or village, the finishing-touches are given during the last months of service.

The Communist party and the Komsomol are the special agencies for bringing at least the selected, active elements among the soldiers into the political life of the community as a whole. In every large unit and in many of the smaller units of the Red army there are the party and Komsomol cells. These cells are set apart from the other cells of the party or Komsomol and brought under the direction of the Pur. The requirements of discipline made this necessary. However, the Red army cells are not withdrawn from party activity entirely, and the individual members are subject to the obligation of civic activity, although there are certain limitations because of the duties and obligations of the soldier. The Communists and Komsomol members take the leadership in the voluntary activities, such as the forming of the circles. In general the cell is the other center of civic activity in a regiment, and sometimes the cell of Communists or of Young Communists dominates over the club or Lenin Corner. A great many members join the party or Komsomol while they are in the Red army; it was noted that the easiest conditions of admission to the party are applied to the Red army soldier. In 1926 among the 520,000 Red army soldiers there were 50,000 Communists.

The relation between officers and soldiers have been discussed in the chapter on the structure of the Soviet state. Here it was pointed out that the words "officer" and "soldier," which have been used here, have been dropped from the vocabulary. All ranks are "Red armyists"; some are of the commanding staff, while others are meeting their obligation of military service under the direction of the older and better-equipped comrades. Without question there is a more comradely relationship between officers and soldiers. The salute has been simplified and reduced to the minimum. The institution of orderly has been abolished. Epaulets also have been dropped, the members of the commanding staff being distinguished only by small insignia on the coat collar. But the Red army has its discipline and its regulations. The committee system which the Communists helped to introduce in the

old army was not adopted in the organization of their new Red army. It is explained that the committee system, which was developed to the point of the election of officers, was necessary in order to protect the workman and peasant-soldier against the officers from the classes which were exploiting them. Now that it is the Workman-Peasant Red Army, in which the commanding staff is appointed by the workman-peasant government and comes largely from the workman and peasant classes, the committee system is no longer necessary, it is explained. Thus the principle of self-government is not found in the Red army, except in the organization of a co-operative or of circles of study.

In the Red navy the term of service is longer. The program of political courses is practically the same as that used in the Red army, although it is less intensive, being spread out over the longer period of service. On the ship and at the naval headquarters it is possible to organize also the outside school activities within the group, though contact with the surrounding life can be organized only to a very limited extent because of the physical conditions. In order to meet this situation, it was determined to have the Komsomol undertake the patronage of the Red navy; the actual exercise of this patronage is difficult to organize, again because of physical conditions. The organization of lectures and excursions and the supplying of literature by the Komsomol authorities would seem to be the extent of this patronage activity. Because of the small size of the Soviet navy at the present moment, the political education work in this field is not of a broad scope as it is in the Red army.

The reasons for the very systematic organization of political education and training among the Red army soldiers are obvious. Through military service a large mass of the peasant youth is brought up to the urban centers and spends the better part of two years in the proletarian atmosphere of these centers. Here, also, these peasants can be made acquainted with industrial processes, and particularly with the Soviet form of organizing industry. They learn of the collective as well as the technical methods of large-scale production, and of the trade-union organization of the urban workers. And, too, they can be brought to participate in the higher culture of the urban center, through its museums, theaters, and other cultural institutions. Through the Communist and Komsomol cells the rural Communists learn better methods of party organization and leadership. The Red armyist carries back all these ideas to his village, and he is expected to contribute not only to the cultural development of the peas-

antry but also to the cementing of the peasantry and the workman class. The Red army has been spoken of as a laboratory for remodeling the peasant masses.

Under the program of the political courses the Red army soldier is first told just why he has to give up two years of his life to military service: he is called on to defend the conquest of the Revolution—the land for the peasants and the factories for the workmen. The territorial system is expounded as an effort to reduce the burden of military service. The military preparedness movement, in which he is to take an active part after his term of service, is also an effort to reduce the cost to the state and to the individual soldier of a standing army, it is explained. The term of service will be used to make him a more useful and productive citizen when he has fulfilled this special duty of preparing himself as a fighter of the Revolution. These points are being constantly brought out in the discussion of other themes, at all the open meetings, and in the circle activities. Then each year there is a general public celebration of the anniversary of the founding of the Red army: this is one of the political days of the Soviet system. All newspapers and organizations respond by articles or meetings on the question of defense. These further emphasize the place of the army in everyday life and politics. An article in the official governmental *Izvestia* on the eighth anniversary, on February 23, 1926, entitled "The Red Army and Soviet Civic Activity," contained the following statements:

> On the anniversary of the Red army let each party worker, each worker in the economic field, each workman, each peasant, each citizen of the Soviet Union, report to himself and to the organization to which he belongs, just how he has carried out his military obligation . . . ., for only by developing military training and drill outside of the army, through the school, club, reading-room, civic organization, physical culture and sports, and also through the militarization of literature for example, shall we be able to reduce the term of military service and the expenditure for the maintenance of a standing army.

The load of "political education" on the Red army soldier is considerable. In the Red army in 1927 there were 710 clubs, with some 7,500 circles, almost 6,000 Lenin Corners, over 6,500 wall newspapers, just short of 75,000 soldier-correspondents, and 9,500 Red army libraries containing over 8,000,000 books. It is possible that many would prefer walking on the boulevard to visiting museums or attending lectures at the club. But the political courses reduce the hours of drilling. Also the other activities are novel for the young

peasant; and to judge from the faces of the groups of soldiers whom one is constantly meeting at museums, there is a real interest in these new things. Dramatic performances, living newspapers, and musical evenings at the club have the element of entertainment, although the subject matter, of the songs even, will be so chosen as to illustrate a principle or carry a slogan of the Revolution. The following story was recently told, and with evident satisfaction, by a Communist writing on the Red army. The demobilized Red army soldier had been asked what he learned during his two years of military training, and his answer was: "Machine guns and politics."

In *Politprosvet*, as the Communists understand it, there are four elements: internal party study and training, political education in general, administrative-political training, and training along the lines of political organization. The basis of all political education is the Communist party. In the Red army one has the most complete merging of these various elements of training, for the Communist party is the sole political leader in the Red army, through its cells and its control of the political studies of the Red army soldier. Among the higher institutions of political education for party members, there is the Military-Political Institute, named after one of the early Red army leaders, Tolmachev. This Institute, which belongs in the same class of institutions as the Communist University, supplies the material for the programs of the political courses and heads up and directs the political educational work in the army.

Only the main features of the political-education work have been given here. The task of eliminating illiteracy comes within the scope of political education; and attention to this problem cannot be lessened for a moment with the large number of illiterates inherited from the old régime and also growing up under the new order. Special political education is emphasized particularly for the Communists and Young Communists, that is, for these citizens with "conscious responsibility," as they have been designated in an earlier chapter. But the non-party workman active element is admitted to share with the Communist and Young Communist these special schools. Among the women and the Red army soldiers special attention is given to political education for opposite reasons, the women being the most difficult, and the young soldiers the easiest element to reach. Then during the last years the peasantry as a whole has been the main objective in the field of political education, with the development of the village reading-room as the center of political education.

CHAPTER XIV

LITERATURE, ART, AND THE STAGE

The developments in the field of literature, art, and the theater during the ten years of the Revolution will be discussed here only in a very general way, and always from the point of view of the subject of civic training. In general it may be said that the stage particularly, but also literature and art, has been utilized in a systematic and extensive manner for the purposes of political propaganda and *politgramota.* There has been much discussion of proletarian culture; a Proletcult has given rise to institutions and organizations, although it was recognized, after the first period of enthusiasm, that one had to face in this field of effort a long and difficult task. However, the training in the development of artistic expression was to be used at the same time for training in political consciousness. Where there had to be a sacrifice of one of these two elements, the political element was to prevail. We have already noted, for example, that celebrations must always contain the element of revolutionary class-consciousness, although the element of artistic form may also be emphasized.

In view of the very general treatment to be given here to the subjects, the three fields of literature, art, and the theater will be covered in a single chapter. The *kino,* to use the Russian abbreviation for cinema, or motion picture show, and the radio, because of physical features, have lent themselves to somewhat different methods when used for political propaganda, both having a broader reach than the stage on the one hand and the written word on the other. The following chapter will take up the *kino* and the radio in the Soviet system. Music comes in with the stage, in the broad sense of the word, and also through the radio. Music has been noted already in several connections and will be touched on in the discussion of both groups into which these institutions have been placed, but will be emphasized particularly in the second group because of its possibilities of broader reach of the masses. This grouping is somewhat arbitrary, but the emphasis on particular features will show the logic of the method of treatment here adopted.

The contemporary men of letters were in general hostile to the October revolution and its principles. There were only a few excep-

tions. There may be some question as to whether Gorky was one of these exceptions. His strong and frankly expressed dislike of the peasantry in any case soon placed him in an equivocal position. His voluntary exile of the last years has meant practically a retirement from active participation in the literary life of the new order. (Gorky's return to Moscow for a grandiose celebration of his sixtieth birthday will be discussed at a later point.) Another apparent exception was Alexander Bloc, who tried to "combine Christian love with revolutionary violence, and mysticism with materialism," to quote from a leading Soviet literary critic; very soon he "perished in the struggle as these contradictions tore at his soul." The poet Vyacheslav Ivanov, less well known abroad than Gorky or Bloc, retired from the noise of cannon and civil strife to his favorite world of the Greeks or to the years of his youth; like many others he was estranged by the dictatorship and the terror of the new régime, to summarize the statements of a Soviet authority on contemporary literature. Very soon the larger number of the writers of pre-revolutionary Russia had become refugees. In exile abroad many of these continued to write, but their contemporary writings have had little or no influence in the Soviet Union, where they have not been permitted freely to enter and circulate.

In the first years of the Revolution no new prose writers were produced; it would have been unreasonable to look for them. The literature of these first years was the literature of manifestoes, appeals, and political programs. But proletarian poets appeared, and among them the outstanding figure was Demian Bedny, who will be used here as the most prominent example of this type. This proletarian poetry was in the main characterized by revolutionary enthusiasm—by a fervent belief in the imminent triumph of the world-revolution, for example. It produced hymns of praise to labor, to the factory, to iron and steel, and to the muscles. It was an attempt to express in poetry the materialistic and collectivistic viewpoints. These proletarian poets at first were older men who had received their training under the old régime but had not come to the front. Now they become the poets of the new life, and their themes are: the workmen's suburb; under the Red flag; or songs of the struggle. The factory, the source of the sufferings of the workman class but also the source of its strength and solidarity, was the prevailing theme of this poetry. The Communist view of the world and revolutionary feeling were the characteristics of these writers, all of whom were sincere supporters of the Revolution. The proletarian poetry of this first period of the Revolution tended to be rather abstract, however. It limited itself to appeals and gave only very gen-

eral descriptions of the life and conditions of the workman class. There was a distinct monotony in this poetry. Also, no new forms were worked out, so that in this respect the proletarian poets "remained dependent on bourgeois poets," according to the Soviet critics.

Proletarian poetry was influenced strongly by the New Economic Policy adopted in 1921. Many of the Communist poets would not accept the new policy with its retreat from the principles and practices of the militant Communism of the first years of the Revolution. As they saw bourgeois elements and ideas reassert themselves also in literature under the new policy, they were inclined to lose faith. They were opposed, however, by a strong group whose journal bore the name *At One's Post*. Another group, forming itself around the *Young Guard*, represented a younger element, which has subsequently come to be considered the great hope of the revolutionary literature. This second group has been joined and helped by some of the older Communist publicists, writing for the most part in the organs of the party.

We are told by the Communist leaders that in this second group one has "literature looking to the future," a literature that is full of the joy of life and hopeful and energetic in its tone. There is no longer the former abstract approach to the Revolution. The everyday facts of the period of construction under the New Economic Policy are accepted; these writers have not been frightened because it became necessary to go into the most minute things, to stand out for each step of the program of the Revolution. "Their faith in the final triumph of the Revolution remains unshaken," writes a Soviet critic in describing this group. Interest in small details becomes the character of the proletarian poetry of the second period of the Revolution. The following verses from one of this group have been suggested as a motto for the group as a whole:

> It is fine to turn planets upside down like clods of earth, and to sing the praises of the cosmos in electro-poems. But now show that you can sense the dawn of the future in the activity of a chairman of a small provincial committee on forestry.

Proletarian poets had formed circles, studios, and similar organizations. They were one of the active elements in the proletcult, or movement of proletarian culture, of the first years. The proletcult was necessarily a more or less haphazard movement during the period of civil war and economic disorganization. It received support so far as resources were available; also censorship conditions worked in the interest of the proletarian poets. At present there are innumerable organizations of the proletarian poets or of proletarian writers, grouped

around the workmen's clubs, the wall newspapers, and also the mass newspapers.

The poetic form of expression made a particularly strong appeal to the younger elements of the proletariat. At an Evening of Proletarian Poetry which I had occasion to attend in Moscow, the audience was composed largely of young people many of whom apparently were factory workers. A preliminary report on the history of proletarian poetry was far from successful; the reporter was an intellectual and evidently had been assigned the task of preparing a short historical sketch; he was insufferably dull, and the young people did not hesitate to show that they were bored. But when the proletarian poets themselves appeared and recited their latest productions, the interest of the audience became keen. Young, budding artists, as well as several of the better-known proletarian poets, were on the program. The verses were full of revolutionary fervor and enthusiasm, and the young people responded to the appeal which they conveyed. Often in talking with young people—with a rural chief of militia and a minor clerk in the office of a Moscow hotel, for example—one learned that they were proletarian poets and very proud of their activity in this field.

In all types of newspapers—in the central directing organs, but particularly in the mass newspapers for workmen and peasants—poetry is used extensively. Demian Bedny is a regular contributor to the *Izvestia* or the *Pravda,* writing always on current problems of politics and economics. The correspondence from workmen and peasants often is in the form of verse. The literary quality of this poetry may be questioned; but with the illustrations and cartoons which are being more widely utilized, these verses tend to give to the sheet a lighter tone; Soviet newspapers, even the more popular mass newspapers, are in general distinctly heavy and "solid." The wall newspapers also give considerable space to small poems submitted by members of the supporting group.

The "futurists" in literature, who were becoming active also in Russia just before the Revolution, definitely accepted the latter and hastened to come to its support and service. Like the proletarian revolution, they hated the smug petty-bourgeois atmosphere and attitudes, and so in a sense were also striving to destroy the foundations of the bourgeois social order. But soon dispute developed as to the place of futurism in a proletarian revolutionary movement. Some believed that there was no possibility of the bohemian futurist actually merging with the proletariat. One of the leaders of the futuristic tendency was Mayakovsky, and, like the proletarian poets, he intro-

duced into his writings the language of the street and square and sometimes also of the gutter, merging the conversational language with the literary even in the matter of syntax, and reducing the importance of rhythm. Thus he went against established traditions and, on this basis at least, took part in the building of the new order. But it was questioned by many whether by these latter methods he did not make himself less accessible to the proletariat in whose name he claimed to speak. Mayakovsky and his group at first did much to help bring art to the masses; for example, he became the "poet of the posters." Also, Mayakovsky gave material to those who were trying to produce so-called "production art," as the champions of constructivism, who considered all art, including the written and spoken word, as the construction of things. This group took the name of "Lef," from the word for "left" in the sense of the radical. But they tended to give more and more attention to mere form, and thus to alienate themselves from the masses by a "weakening of their sense of direct acceptance of surrounding actuality," as one Soviet critic expressed it.

The conclusion of the civil war and the beginning of the period of reconstruction under the New Economic Policy brought more complicated tasks but also more attention to the "cultural front" of the Revolution. Proletarian poetry, futurism, and also pre-revolutionary tendencies could evolve more freely, extending their field of vision and also enriching their forms and content. Particularly there emerged a number of new, young writers who had passed through the school of partisan bands in the guerrilla fighting of the civil war, or of endless wandering under the conditions of fighting and economic crises. Many of these had served in various organizations in connection with the military and political struggle of the first years of the Revolution. All the questions which had been put in general form during the first years now must be treated more concretely. At the same time these questions became the subjects of bitter discussion and dispute. Finally, from the new conditions introduced by the New Economic Policy there developed in the literary field a group which Trotsky very aptly characterized by the name of "fellow-travelers."

The fellow-travelers were those writers who formally accepted the Revolution but who did not necessarily understand fully its tasks or become filled with its spirit or its deeper aspirations. None of them could be credited with a "revolutionary feat"; they had been incapable of such, because of class status or temperament. They had not joined any of the proletarian literary organizations. They were not Communists and did not stand definitely on a Communist platform. Some

of them tended to take a distinctly cynical attitude toward the facts of contemporary life, but this attitude extended also to the capitalistic order and thus "gave sharp arrows into the hands of the Revolution against the decaying Old World." In this latter sense they were fellow-travelers, although, as the name indicates, there was no clearness as to the point to which they would continue to travel with the Revolution.

Thus, for example, peasant poets, as opposed to proletarian poets, came to be considered only fellow-travelers. They describe the life of the peasants and introduce the freshness of the fields and forests and even the religious side of the peasantry, often contrasting rural life with the urban life to the advantage of the former. They have sung hymns of praise to the peasants' spirit of rebellion and to their revolutionary seizures of land and attacks on the landlord class. A Soviet critic states, however, that they have shown themselves incapable of assimilating the organized plan of the Revolution and the spirit of its strict discipline. Another critic called them the Soviet "peasantists," using the name applied to that group of early Russian socialists who based their program on the peasants. It was against this peasantist tendency that the Russian Marxian socialists, and particularly the group led by Lenin, had carried on the bitterest struggle from the last decade of the nineteenth century.

The fellow-travelers in the main have taken for their themes the events of the Revolution. Some of the best of the literature of the last years is to be found among these writings descriptive of contemporary life under the conditions of the Revolution. Village conditions particularly are portrayed with color, and also, one was told, with remarkable accuracy. One writer described the life of the anti-Bolshevik intelligentsia and the older officer-class under the title of *The White-Guardists*. The publication of the book, which was appearing in serial form, was discontinued, but the story later was dramatized. This stage presentation of the counter-revolutionary movement of the first years will be discussed later. But it was possible for the fellow-travelers to go into all aspects of the Revolution in their choice of themes so long as they accepted the Revolution. It is claimed that the fellow-travelers have revealed forces concealed within the Russian peasantry which even the most talented of the former writers on peasant life had not seen. The writers of the "landlord-bourgeois epoch"—such as Tolstoy, Chekhov, or Bunin, for example—had been unable to detect these forces, the Communists frequently remark. By their descriptions of these newly revealed characteristics of the peasantry, the writers of

this category have become the fellow-travelers, whether they attribute these new forces to the Communist program or simply to the period of the Revolution.

In its general character the literature of the fellow-travelers is penetrated with the "constructive spirit of our days," according to the Communist critics. It does, in fact, represent the general revaluation of values for which the Revolution has stood. More particularly it reflects the substitution of "activism" for "passivism." The life of external facts is the center of attention; and geographic sections, social groups, and current problems have been given more careful study for description in literary form than was the practice of the pre-revolutionary writers. In a word, literature has been brought into closer touch with ethnography, science, and the work of the publicists. Another Soviet literary critic finds that even the things described by these writers are almost always things which can be headed by the names of collective groups, such as "Red army soldiers," "peasants," "Ukrainians," "sectarians." Also, these writers describe the "conflicts between the old and the new forces, which in their combination form the whole called the 'October revolution.'"

The pre-revolutionary Russian literary classics still exercise a strong influence in the life of the Soviet Union; they belong to those inheritances from the old régime which are to be utilized to the fullest possibility. In the libraries of all institutions these writings are evidently most popular. In the bookstalls on the larger market places of Moscow, and at the annual street book-fairs, old editions of works of nineteenth century and pre-revolutionary writers are offered at very low prices. Often the old bourgeois family has had to give up its library under economic pressure, and the workmen, as well as the new bourgeoisie, are buying these books. In the village reading-room the library of the former landlord's estate has been used, in part at least, where it escaped destruction. At one time there was a strict regulation which excluded many pre-revolutionary books from libraries and reading-rooms for the masses; only the strictly literary works of a Tolstoy, for example, were permitted. In a popular publication of the works of Tolstoy, the literary writings only are included. Also, in all new editions of the Russian classics the social and class status of the writer is always carefully explained in a preface. Thus one of the leading Soviet literary critics writes as follows of Tolstoy and his work:

The world will accept his ideas only with respect to those practical aims which are determined by the interests of the moment. From his force-

ful words will be taken only what fits into the general movement of life and the demands of the masses. Life will not wait, and the oppressed and exploited have at last ceased to believe in the power of confessions and prayers, and will not listen to the appeals for humility and patience. The masses do not wish to think of that higher aim which was so clearly visible to the fortunate, passionless, aristocratic soul of Tolstoy. His word, directed against all forms of violence, selfishness, and exploitation, comes from a sincere soul, however. Against his will, while he called for reconciliation and renunciation, his teachings in fact spread the seeds of rebellion and stirred up bitterness.

The poet Nekrasov, who wrote in the middle of the nineteenth century, is also highly commended and his works widely popularized. Practically an entire inside page of the *Pravda* was devoted to Nekrasov on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his death. One article discussed him as the "poet of resentment and affliction" because of his descriptions of the suffering of the peasants. It was pointed out that this writer exercised an enormous influence on the revolutionary intelligentsia of the sixties and seventies of the last century. Even the Marxist Plekahnov had come under his influence. Many other revolutionary workers recognized their obligation to him. Another critic pointed out that the great strength of Nekrasov lay in his style, which was simple and accessible to all, "dealing a death blow to the stilted poetry of the poets of nobility origin." An article written in 1921 by Pokrovsky, the leading Marxist historian, was quoted as follows:

> Nekrasov himself did not become a socialist, but he knew how to awaken in his readers among the intelligentsia that burning shame before people who work with their hands, before those "whose rough hands toiled so that we might bury ourselves in literature and science," a sense of shame which has made many intellectuals socialists. . . . . The Russian intelligentsia forgot Nekrasov in 1917 when it answered the seizure of power by the toilers with a sabotage of art and science. But, for the Russian proletariat this sense of shame of the aristocrat-poet before workmen is another reason why the proletariat should remember Nekrasov as one of its own poets.

During the first years of the Revolution Gorky was the outstanding instance of the acceptance of the new order by a man of letters, though Gorky had always been close to the field of revolutionary politics. There had been a close personal relationship between Lenin and Gorky, and the leader had forgiven the writer for some of his deviations from the true road of Leninism. Then Gorky withdrew abroad because of poor health and also, it was suggested, for political reasons. Articles from his pen appeared but rarely in the Soviet press or periodicals. But with the approach of his sixtieth birthday he was

adopted as "the grandfather of proletarian writers." Answering a letter from a literary circle of a higher technical school which had asked him whether or not he was a proletarian writer, Gorky defined his understanding of the term "proletarian writer" by mentioning the following qualifications: active hatred for everything which oppresses the human being and prevents the free development and growth of his abilities; and pitiless hate for parasites, commonplace people, boasters, and in general for good-for-nothings of all forms and sorts. The letter, dated early in 1928, concluded:

> You know, of course, that the project for complete disarmament presented by the Soviet Union has been rejected by cultured people who believe in the saving quality of the theory of evolution. We must understand and remember that this despicable cowardice shown by the League of Nations is nothing else than the complete bankruptcy of European culture and clearly reveals the real anti-humanitarian essence of the latter. If you wish to be honest people, you must be revolutionaries.

Gorky's return to Moscow in March, 1928, to participate in the celebration of his birthday was made the basis of an extensive demonstration. Workmen and peasants, as well as members of the intelligentsia, took part in the meetings and processions in his honor. The popularity of his writings, among workmen particularly, was shown by reports from libraries. The celebration of the Gorky Jubilee was spoken of as a great cultural event; the popular character of the celebration, in which even peasants and workmen unable to read and write took part, was interpreted as evidence of the cultural development that has come during the last years. In voicing this opinion, a writer in the *Pravda* called attention to the fact that there was still much barbarism, ignorance, and "hooliganism" in the Soviet Union, the "cultural spectrum" being rich in colors but also rich in dark dividing-lines. However, he noted with satisfaction that the Gorky holiday passed without "drunken scandals and acts of 'hooliganism' which so often still interrupt educational and cultural evenings in the various workmen's clubs."

The old classical literature is becoming more and more popular as the habit of reading gradually develops in the masses. Workmen have been quoted in the Soviet newspapers as expressing the wish to read about other kinds of life than their own. The peasants call for books on technical subjects rather than on the politics of the Revolution. Wherever a library was visited or noted, one asked if the old classics had wide currency among the readers, and the answer was always in the affirmative. On a small bookshelf of a penal institution for women

it was possible to determine roughly the character of the reading matter supplied there; the works of pre-revolutionary writers were more fully represented than the frankly propaganda literature of the Revolution. It was this sharp division of the available reading-matter into two groups that suggested the question on the popularity of the old classics.

A new literature for the children of the new order has been another preoccupation of the Communist leaders. The old fairy tales, and even the folk tales, were considered not only futile but positively harmful; in any case, they would not fit in with the programs and general purposefulness of the Soviet educational system. One noted in the show windows of bookstores stories of adventure, of boy-heroes of the revolutionary period, and also accounts of the childhood and youth of Lenin and other leaders. The Pioneer movement has had time to produce small books on the exploits of model members. A systematic preparation of a literature for children is in progress but is in its first stages. The periodical publications of the Pioneer movement are laying the "ideological foundations" by always putting emphasis on revolutionary heroism and revolutionary conquests. In any case, for the children also, literature is to reflect the new order and at the same time have a distinctly purposeful character. The contemporary writers are put before the children in their school work. The proletarian poet, Demian Bedny, is recommended and used particularly. In the preparation of the projects on themes of current life, this source of material is to be utilized by the pupils, even of the lower classes. For Demian Bedny is considered not only a poet-politician—a seeker for a new life and a propagandist—but also pedagogical in all his activity. Textbooks are prepared to help the teacher interpret these writers to the children, and the interpretation is always Marxian. In addition, the teacher is referred to the many special books and articles from the pens of Marxists, on each of the most important contemporary writers, and on contemporary literature as a whole.

In the discussion of the Soviet press there was emphasis on the mass participation in journalism through the wall newspaper and through the institution of workmen-correspondents, peasant-correspondents, Red-army-soldier–correspondents, and so forth. When contributing to wall newspapers or to the regular press organs, the workmen, peasants, soldiers, office workers, students, and pupils are urged to give general pictures of the life of their groups as they see it. Some of the contributions to wall newspapers and to the regular newspapers have a real literary value, and they are being studied from this

point of view by the Soviet literary critics. These modest writings represent in their conception and content the ideal for which the Communists are striving, namely, a literature which reflects contemporary life and comes up from those who are the productive factors in this life. The work for and in the wall newspaper and the activity as a correspondent are organized by the Literary Circles of all types of institutions. These Literary Circles have also the broader aim of helping their members to study and properly interpret the writings of the old and new orders.

The proletarian poets have given the Revolution the words for many of its songs. Again Demian Bedny has been one of the most prolific contributors in this field. A popular song in urban centers is called "The Little Bricks." The music has a typically Russian minor note, but at the same time there is the expression of the spirit of struggle and achievement. The original words described the life of a young girl working in a brick factory. Despite the hardships of the conditions of labor, she became devoted to the factory and its products. Others contributed new and different words. One version gave the history of the little bricks. They had been used by the bourgeoisie to build the factory in which they exploited the workmen. But the workmen seized the factory and in the fighting the factory was destroyed. Then the workmen used the bricks for their barricades; and when they had triumphed in their fight against the capitalists, they rebuilt the factory. So they came to love the little bricks which had gone into what was now their own factory. One should note also that an old Russian form of song has lent itself easily to the aims of revolutionary poetry and singing. This is the *chastushka*, which is a popular, rhythmed and sung doggerel based on a discussion between individuals, or an individual and a group, of a theme of everyday life. New series of these songs have been produced, some for the Komsomol, some for the Red army, and others for workmen and peasants in general.

The literatures of other countries were made accessible to the prerevolutionary Russian reading-public through translations, and the Russian educated classes showed a great interest in the writers of the West. As private enterprise in the field of publication is very limited under the Soviet system, the selection of foreign books for translation is now under a measure of control by government or party. The technical achievements, rather than the ideas of the outside capitalistic world, are considered useful by these authorities. While technical works, even in the field of education, have been extensively translated,

there has been comparatively little done to bring the literary writings of the Western World to the new Soviet reading-public of workmen and peasants. Where more general writings descriptive of the life in other countries have been translated, the selection has been made on the basis of the aims set for Soviet literature, as outlined above. Thus American life is presented through the books of an Upton Sinclair, for example, and Zola is one of the most popular foreign writers.

In connection with the tenth anniversary of the October revolution the All-Union Association of Proletarian Writers organized an international conference at which there were more than forty foreign delegates. Speaking before this conference, Lunacharsky gave the following characterization of proletarian literature:

> Proletarian literature should give an artistic and synthetic picture of the new man who has taken authority into his own hands. Our literature was not free from attitudes of petty-bourgeois bohemianism. The Revolution changed the physiognomy of Russian literature, bringing it nearer to realism and to the picturing of the collective group. During the last year contemporary literature definitely turned toward social realism, and at present one has here in Soviet Russia a real fruition of realistic prose.

The conference adopted a resolution on the report of Lunacharsky, pointing out that the October revolution not only maintained Russian literature in a place of honor in the art of the world but "created conditions for a literary development new both in form and in content." This resolution also called attention to the noteworthy development of Ukrainian, Georgian, Armenian, and other national literatures, which had been deliberately stifled under the old régime. Finally, the resolution spoke of "the enormous educational significance of Soviet literature which for the first time introduces into art an integral communistic viewpoint, harmoniously co-ordinated with proletarian psychology."

The word "art" will be used in the next paragraphs to designate what the Russians call "figurative art," which includes, first of all, painting. This field of art came to be used with particular directness to assist the Revolution; the artists in painting were practically mobilized, and in any case were utilized on the so-called "shock" basis. These artists gave the striking posters and cartoons of the first years of the Revolution. They decorated the squares for the celebrations and painted the mural decorations in the large halls used for Soviet and other mass meetings. Finally, they painted the designs on the "agitation trains"; one can still see on the streets of Moscow the tram cars decorated with scenes or slogans of the Revolution. The illus-

trated trains used for propaganda purposes during the first years are no longer functioning, but they represented the application of figurative art to the cause of Revolution.

It should be noted that during the first years, because of the economic crisis, there was a shortage of materials so great as to seriously limit the activity of the artist. But, independently of this fact, a very considerable number of the younger artists threw themselves into the work of agitation and put their technical skill at the service of the new leaders. Through the language of color and imagery the revolutionary slogans could be made more accessible to the masses.

It became a practice of the Revolution to record important congresses and sessions in pictures; and here painting, as well as photography, was used. Also, portraits of the leaders became part of the technique of propaganda, although Communist critics attacked the older schools of painting which tended toward the portrait as working primarily in the service of an aristocracy.

There has been a marked tendency to extend training in the figurative arts. The number of educational institutions and schools has been greatly increased, particularly in the field of industrial art. Many evening courses have been organized for workmen. In the clubs for workmen and Red army soldiers, circles devoted to painting and the decorative arts have been particularly popular. These in turn have contributed to the furnishing in brighter colors of the quarters where workmen and soldiers spend their leisure hours. One does not hear, however, of the appearance of any proletarian painters. There was finally organized an Association of Artists of the Revolution which set itself the task of reflecting realistically the Revolution, everyday life, and particularly labor. The artists of this association have subordinated questions of artistic form to publicist activities. In this sense they have lent themselves more to the task of propaganda than have the more radical artists who were inclined to sacrifice content to form. In the conflict which developed between the cubists and the "productionists," the latter prevailed, in the name of the creation of useful things and of merging with the actual demands of life.

The Association of Artists of the Revolution is an All-Union organization and has given particular attention to the encouragement of local national art and to the use of the customs of national minorities in the selection of themes. At the 1926 exhibition of this association all of the pictures could be classified under the three headings of "revolution," "labor," and "national minorities." Several of the outstanding pictures in this exhibition have been noted in other con-

nections. The most important and best of the pictures showing the processes and conditions of labor were acquired by the trade-unions for their special picture gallery or for decorating their larger assembly halls. Often a slogan of the Revolution stood out clearly in the picture. A painting which attracted particular attention among foreign visitors was the one entitled "The End of Capitalism." The central figure was the banker coming out of his institution and about to descend a flight of steps to the street. Behind him was a skeleton figure of Death with his scythe, laughing at the self-confident and haughty capitalist, for in the street, which the upturned face of the capitalist was not observing, was the crowd of workmen with the Red flags waiting for him to descend into their clutches. From an artistic point of view the picture was not particularly good, but its message was clear and forcefully expressed.

Under the Soviet system the distinction between pure art and applied art should be obliterated, it is argued, because of the emphasis on the production side of life. In the applied arts, or in what is also called "artistic industry," the Revolution has brought very marked change. This branch of art also has been utilized to the full for the purposes of political propaganda. Thus in the embroidery work of the peasant household-industries, one finds figures of Red army soldiers substituted for the former figures of animals, for example. The small statuary which has always been a product of the peasant household-industries has also taken as its subjects figures of the Revolution, either types of workmen or the faces of outstanding leaders. As early as 1920 there was organized a first conference of workers in the field of craft work. The conference aimed to bring these workers into propagandist activity in an organized manner. Thus, in the porcelain factories revolutionary symbols or slogans, scenes from revolutionary life, and finally the faces of revolutionary leaders have been adopted as the designs. The old traditional motives have been abandoned and Soviet motives substituted. One of the oldest and largest of the institutions for making sacred religious pictures has retained its old personnel and preserved all its former technical skill, but has gone over to non-religious and even Soviet themes. Some of the factories producing chess sets have adopted as the new forms for the chessmen the Red army commander, the workman leader, and the peasant; in one case the former "bishop" was changed to a windmill.

According to the Communists, the Russian theater was in a period of artistic decadence precisely at the moment of the October revolution. This crisis expressed itself in various ways. There was a tend-

ency to break away from the fixed traditions of the theater, and a definite reaction against naturalism as it was being emphasized in the Moscow Art Theater. Also, under the influence of the political reaction which followed the revolution of 1905, the theater had been trying to keep aloof from the new public spirit which was manifesting itself, and to take a strictly non-political line.

The first and immediate effect of the Revolution was to throw the theater open to the masses. This was a more or less mechanical change, easily accomplished. In the audiences workmen and the new officialdom predominated, even at the opera and the ballet. The former state theaters, including the opera, were kept going, despite the economic conditions, as another conquest of the Revolution for workmen. The repertories were somewhat altered, certain operas and plays being striken out because of their appeals to the old patriotism. Private theaters were also encouraged to continue, although many of them, like the Moscow Art Theater, greatly reduced their activity. In general, however, artists of the stage were favored above other professional groups of the old régime, in order to afford relaxation and entertainment for the new classes in power. The fact that the Commissary of Education, Lunacharsky, was himself a dramatic writer contributed to the favorable conditions established for the theater. He was in fact criticized for the generous material support given to the theater from the budget of his commissariat. But he answered these attacks by pointing to the importance of the stage as a medium of reaching the masses. Having the state academic theaters under his direct jurisdiction as Commissary of Education, Lunacharsky supported them also as "the best theaters of the past, which unquestionably deserve the special solicitude of the state as the custodians of the traditions of dramatic art."

At the same time, new theaters were started. These have been described as "revolutionary-creative" in character. The clearly defined aim of these new theaters was to "raise the standard of theaters for the masses, and cleanse the theater in a revolutionary way—where it suffered from an absence of artistic, cultural, and political values." Thus the first years of the Revolution produced the type of what came to be called frankly the "educational theater." The repertory of this type of theater consisted of revolutionary plays of a propagandist character. Also, in connection with the many celebrations of the first years of the Revolution demonstrations and processions were organized in the form of mass pageants. It was considered a matter of civic duty for dramatic artists to assist in the deepening and strength-

ening of the revolutionary conquests. One field in which those who accepted this rôle could operate was that of the collective celebrations on public squares and streets and also in the large halls of theaters and governmental institutions. These collective celebrations represented part of the everyday life of the active revolutionary situation. The outstanding feature of these celebrations was their large-scale, mass character.

It was not until 1921, after the period of the civil war, that the Soviet policy with respect to the theater finally defined itself. Then a sharp line was drawn between the two types of theaters—the state academic theaters and the revolutionary theater. The outstanding proponent of the latter was Meyerhold, a former member of the Moscow Art Theater; the Meyerhold Theater, named after this dramatic artist, became the most successful example of the new methods and ideas. The trade-unions also came into the field of the theater by establishing theaters with professional actors and by promoting amateur dramatics in the workmen's clubs. In the contest between the old and the new in this branch of the general field of culture, the influence of the government as well as of the party was exercised less directly. The division into opposed camps soon tended to disappear, through changes in both groups. These changes have been in the direction of the policy to bring the theater into the general task of the cultural revolution. This policy with respect to the theater was recently stated by Lunacharsky in a report to the Communist Academy. Only a summary of this report was available; it indicated, however, the main grounds upon which the policy has been based:

> Considering the theater of all arts as the most powerful weapon for ideological influence on the masses, Comrade Lunacharsky pointed out that the proletariat cannot and should not give up this weapon, which serves the aim of educating workmen and peasants, of disorganizing the enemy, and of bringing the petty-bourgeois elements over to its side. For these purposes the theater should be propagandist in the best and deepest meaning of the word, combining content with all the methods of artistic impressionism.

This policy has been enforced, in part, through the Main Repertory Committee of the Commissariat of Education, acting as a supplementary censorship authority and exercising control over the repertories of all theaters, including the motion picture theaters. This committee has two departments, one of which has to do with the state theaters of Moscow and Leningrad, while the other has jurisdiction over all other theaters. Plays or films which are permitted are list-

ed, and these lists are sent out every two weeks. There are two sections in the list: section 1 includes the plays which are permitted unconditionally, while section 2 includes those which are permitted at the discretion of the local authorities. The lists also include the plays which have been forbidden. An official discussion of the rôle of the Main Repertory Committee gave a general idea of its policy. In the case of historical plays based on themes from the last decades of the period of tsarism, only those were passed in which there was not a too sharp warping of the ideological line and which had, to a degree at least, a revolutionary character. An unhealthy tendency was manifesting itself in the so-called "Soviet comedy," and the Repertory Committee used its powers of control to combat this tendency. Thus, although it considered satire a quite helpful and necessary feature, the Repertory Committee blocked any attempt simply to ridicule under the mask of satire the "young Soviet civic conceptions."

The policy with respect to the theater is also furthered by the Political Education Section of the Commissariat of Education through its special Art Department. This department has given particular attention to the direction of work in the peasant villages. In general it is the function of this department to organize local work particularly in the matter of dramatic performances and to bring the theater nearer to the mass spectator. It is claimed that already the landmarks of a unified policy in the field of dramatic art have been laid down. The Commissariat of Education publishes a journal, formerly called the *Dramatic Artist and the Spectator*, which now carries the broader title of *Soviet Dramatic Art*. Also a special journal, the *Village Theater*, has recently been started. Finally, the Home of Theatrical Training has been brought under the jurisdiction of the Political Education Section in order to promote and also direct all work in the villages in the field of dramatic art.

The theaters coming over from pre-revolutionary times at first continued to adhere very closely to their former repertories. Interpretation of certain rôles by certain artists seemed to reflect the influence of the revolutionary events. In the studios of the younger members of the Moscow Art Theater, for example, this tendency was particularly marked. It was not until 1926, however, that the Moscow Art Theater finally included in its program a play based on the events of the Revolution. This in itself became an event in the theatrical world and led to considerable discussion. There was question even of permitting the play when the final rehearsal was presented; the censorship authorities insisted on certain changes before the final permis-

sion was given, and official and Communist critics came out in sharp attacks on the interpretation of the Revolution given by the author and the actors of the play. The original name of the play was *The White-Guardists*, but it was allowed to be given only under a meaningless title: *The Days of the Turbin Family*. The main figures were officers of the anti-Bolshevik movement in the Ukraine, and they were presented as fighting for a hopeless cause, but in a very sympathetic light. Communist critics immediately attacked the play on the ground that it was historically false, insisting that "for witnesses of and participants in the civil war, who saw the true face of the degenerate White-Guardists, for the broad masses of toilers, first of all for our youth, the piece is quite alien and inacceptable." The play was condemned because, among other things, it "gave an idealization of the White-Guardists and placed a conciliatory romantic aureole around the old staff-officer class, which was so cruelly but justifiably punished by history and the revolutionary proletariat."

The cast of this first play on a revolutionary theme in the Moscow Art Theater was composed exclusively of the younger members of the company. It was to these that the Communist critics appealed in their reviews.

> The task of these young forces is to struggle against the false influences brought to bear on them and to move forward in the matter of the choice of themes, solving these themes correctly and applying the technique acquired from the old actors to the tasks of genuinely revolutionary contemporary life. The task of our theaters is to draw from this instructive theatrical event careful conclusions with respect to further progress toward the reflection in dramatic art of the Soviet epoch, striving always for a high standard of technique while at the same time meeting the demands of the growing revolutionary, mass audience.

The play proved a great success, however, and filled a very considerable part of the repertory of the Moscow Art Theater for the 1926–27 season. It was continued in the 1927–28 program.

The Moscow Art Theater added a second play on a revolutionary theme to its repertory for 1927–28, *The Armored Train No. 14–69*. It was an adaptation from the novel of the same name, by its author, Vsevolod Ivanov, one of the most prominent of the fellow-travelers in literature. A Communist reviewer of the new play concluded his analysis as follows:

> The Art Theater is very slowly coming to revolutionary themes, and particularly to a proper presentation of them. The expression of the elemental peasant movement is more within the range of its ability than is that

of the organized movement of the workmen. By its presentation of *The Armored Train* the Moscow Art Theater shows that it is sincerely taking up the subjects which agitate the new Soviet theatergoers.

The Communist cell and factory committee of one of the larger factories of Moscow organized a discussion of this play, inviting representatives of the theater to participate. According to the account of this discussion in the Communist newspapers, the workmen decided that the actors were able properly to present the dying bourgeois class and even the peasants, but that they had been less successful in their interpretation of the leadership of the workmen. However, it was the sense of the meeting that "the workman class, the rising class, powerful by reason of its socialistic constructive work, can serve as a new and vigorous source of strength for the work of the Art Theater." On this basis the opinion was expressed that the Art Theater should have the sympathetic support of the workmen, who by taking this attitude would make the Art Theater their own theater. The statements made at the meeting by representatives of the Art Theater were interpreted as indicating "an acceptance of the October revolution and a striving for closer union with the new class which has come on to the stage of world-history."

In the opera and ballet the repertories have not been much changed except that the opera season no longer opens with *Life for the Tsar*, as was the previous practice. *For Red Petrograd* is one of the operas which appears in the announcements side by side with *Boris Godunov*, for example. Operas with revolutionary content have not been particularly successful from the artistic point of view, however. A possible exception is *The Decembrists*, which is based on the events of December, 1825, classed as revolutionary by the Communists. Two ballets, *Red Windmills* and *The Red Whirlwind*, were given for the first time in 1926. Also a new popular opera, under the title of *Ivan the Soldier*, was announced for the winter season of 1926–27. No detailed comments on these revolutionary operas and ballets have been noted. The Communist press has commented frequently on the fact that the opera and ballet have not adapted themselves to the new period and its ideas.

The aims of the new revolutionary theater may be summarized as follows: In the first place there was to be experimentation, allegedly along scientific lines, in the matter of stage-setting. This work was carried on particularly in the "workshop" of Meyerhold, and presented on the stage of his theater. New devices to bring the audience more actively into the spirit of the spectacle were worked out. In the second place, the aim was to create an independent proletarian thea-

ter, through workmen's dramatic circles in clubs or groups of peasant actors in village reading-rooms and finally through the amateur dramatic organizations formed in practically all of the more important units of the Red army. The so-called "proletarian theater" was to express itself also in the form of mass pageants and carnivals in connection with revolutionary celebrations. Finally, there was to be created a popular revolutionary theater which could be understood by the masses. Here the trade-unions were to be the organizing factor, and they were to be assisted by professional artists.

The Storm may be selected as representing the revolutionary-agitational play, given at the Moscow Trade-Union Theater. There are twelve episodes, which represent the struggle and final victory of the Revolution. The action takes place in a small provincial town. The same theater staged a new play called *The Mutiny* in connection with the tenth anniversary of the Revolution. This play is based on an episode of the civil war in the Urals. In an interview the director of the theater pointed out that no outstanding figures were emphasized, in conformity with the principle of the class struggle. He added that it was the task of the theater to arouse a genuine "revolutionary pathos," to point out those difficulties which must still be overcome in order to strengthen the Soviet authority in the more distant corners of the enormous Soviet Union. The hero of the play was a group fighting for the one idea, namely, for socialism. The director also explained that the play aimed to further military preparedness by describing the first steps in the development of the Red army.

The Theater of the Revolution of Moscow is under the direction of the Moscow Soviet and has its political council which makes the selection of its repertory; the aim of the theater is "the broad social and cultural training of the auditor who comes from the masses, the broadening of his revolutionary consciousness in the spirit of a Communist ideology, through the creation of living and generalizing forms of expression possible in the theater, these pictures to embrace all the many sides of contemporary life and revolutionary events." The ideological content has frequently lead to a sacrifice of artistic form, but the effort is to bring about the proper combining of these two elements. There is no question that the professional revolutionary theaters have in fact reached the broad proletarian masses of Moscow at least. During the two years of its existence to 1925, the Moscow Theater of the Revolution distributed about 150,000 free tickets to workmen, Red army soldiers, and a certain number of peasants. In

addition about 300,000 received tickets at reduced rates through their trade-union.

As an illustration of the rôle assumed by the Meyerhold Theater, the largest and best of the revolutionary theaters, one may note its latest new play, *The Soviet Village,* presented in connection with the tenth anniversary of the Revolution. The main theme of the play is the influence of the proletarian revolution on the peasantry. At the same time, through the theater the city hears the voice of the village. The performance consists of a series of pictures in which there is unity of theme, the Soviet village, and also unity of mood, the joys of building the new life. The subjects emphasized are the mechanizing of agriculture, rotation of crops, electrification, the village Komsomol members, the fight against illiteracy, the work of the school, October christenings, the peasant woman in civic life, the Red army soldier, and the graduates of Workmen's Faculties in the village, the radio in the village, the village theater, public health, the negative features of the Soviet apparatus, the peasantry and the defense of the Soviet Union, and the gradual elimination of the instinct for private property.

Certain novel methods were used in this recent play to attain the greatest political effect. Not only the whole troop of the theater but the students from a technical institute, the Pioneer brigade under the patronage of the theater, and a group of former homeless children were brought on to the stage. A moving picture was also used, particularly to show the differences between the new and the old order. In commenting on the new play, Meyerhold stated:

> This play will remain on the regular repertory and should serve as a constant appeal to the workman-auditor to support the new village. Also, steps will be taken to reach the peasantry with this play, in order to show the latter what has been done for the peasantry during the ten years of the proletarian dictatorship and thus emphasize the advantages of introducing the principles of socialism.

Many of the old classics of Russian dramatic writings have been worked over by the revolutionary theater. It was believed that the best rôle which the old classics could play was that of serving the new creative activity. Thus former attainments in the field of culture were not to be simply passively assimilated but were to be critically worked over to fit in with the new aspirations and aims. The revolutionary version of Ostrovsky's *Forest* was so different from the classic as to be almost unrecognizable; but the new rendering of this old classic

seemed to hold the interest of the audience, and even of the younger elements, of which there was a large representation.

Dramatic circles are widely promoted among workmen's clubs, village reading-rooms, military barracks, and schools. It is estimated that there are tens of thousands of these circles. Russians are particularly fond of dramatic performances and are given to dramatic methods of expression; even among the illiterate peasants, acting has always been very widespread, and many of the peasant songs entail an element of acting. And the Communists believe that acting, as a means of awakening creativeness in general, is the basis not only of dramatic but also of the general political training of the masses. In these dramatic circles the plays will sometimes be written by the members themselves; the preparation of these plays will represent one of the activities of the dramatic circle. More usually, however, the local group of amateur actors will stage a play the text of which has been furnished them from outside. Several organizations, including the Political Education Section of the Commissariat of Education have prepared the plays to be used by the various dramatic circles. These are graded for the various types and also adapted to the celebration of the revolutionary holidays of the Soviet calendar. These plays are called frankly "agitation plays." The presenting of the "living newspaper," by the professional Blue Blouses or by amateur groups, in workmen's clubs, soldier's barracks, and village reading-rooms, is another use of the stage and of dramatic performances, which was discussed in the chapter on the periodical publications.

The creation of a new theater requires, it is believed, a fundamental retraining of the actors, and particularly of the company of actors. In the first place the new actors must be part of the "prose of life" and must therefore learn the actual laws of life. "The new school of actors seeks a natural healthy acting, the so-called 'spirit' to come as the result of a scientifically determined psychological and physical state of the actor," is the comment noted in a discussion of this subject by a Communist dramatic critic. There is an emphasis on so-called "biomechanics" in all discussions of the new theater.

New methods of staging aim to "bring the auditors into the sinews of the play." Thus the theater is to train the public also to self-expression. One method used to accomplish this aim is to have a group of actors in the pit before the stage used for an orchestra. This group serves, then, as a link between the spectator and actors on the stage. By turning to the "people" in the orchestra pit, the actors can address in a natural manner the crowd of the auditorium. Another de-

vice is to have leaflets thrown out to the spectators from the stage and from the galleries, with a pause in the acting while these are gathered up and read by the public. Another feature of the revolutionary stage-setting is the abandonment of makeup so that the actor will be an ordinary human being, free from any conventional and artificial mask which would tend to deaden him for the spectator. Also, attempt is made to substitute for the psychology and experiences of the private room the setting of a tribune where the actor can express himself more freely. Or the auditorium is fully lighted so that there is no sharp line separating the stage from the auditorium. In some instances the curtain has been completely abolished. The so-called "left" tendency in the theater, which, like the futurism in literature, asserted itself in the first period of the Revolution, emphasized various kinds of tricks and curiosities of acting, with resulting loss in the matter of content. This did not fit in with the spirit of the times, and under the influence of the latter these extreme methods were gradually dropped.

Another practice in the revolutionary theaters is to solicit from the audience an expression of its reaction to the performance. Blanks are distributed, and each auditor is urged to answer the questions and thus give his opinion regarding the content of the play, the acting of the performers, and the general policy of the theater. In the case of the theaters under the management of the trade-unions, the workmen's correspondents of Moscow were asked to comment on the work of the theater and particularly to note the response of the workmen in general. The pieces proposed for the repertory were discussed in advance with a selected group of workmen-correspondents by the management of the theater. In this way the idea of the "organized audience" was promoted.

It was interesting to contrast the audience at one of the academic theaters with the audience of a revolutionary theater. The public of the Moscow Art Theater was clearly of the old and new intelligentsia and the "mere inhabitant"; in fact it was in the lobby of this theater that one felt one's self back in pre-revolutionary Russia. Similarly in the opera and ballet one found very few workmen or workingwomen. In the Meyerhold Theater or in the Trade-Union Theater on the other hand, there were many workmen responding actively to all that was taking place on the stage and presenting a different picture in the lobby during the intermission. For the "workmanizing" of the audience is one of the aims of the Soviet policy. Trade-union organizations secure reduced prices and also large blocks of free tickets. Even with this, the proportion of workmen in the audiences, even of the rev-

olutionary theater, is still not large. However, organized audiences are one of the means of helping the theater find the new road; it is expected that these audiences of workmen will make the theater serve the interests and cause of the working class.

The development of the theater to the ideal which Lunacharsky outlined in his report to the Communist Academy is recognized by him as a slow and difficult task. He himself has stood out against the use of "maximalist" methods in the Soviet policy with respect to the theater, as well as literature and art, opposing direct and forceful measures which would go to the very heart of the matter, to paraphrase his own words. The old theater had worked out an excellent technique and was realistic. The new dramatic art, which it is hoped gradually to develop, aims to reflect actuality on the stage. In a statement to an English author of a book on the Soviet theater, Lunacharsky explained that "we use the drama, the comedy, and the satire to ridicule what has remained over from the past which we hate, and at the same time to expose the defects of the new order."

CHAPTER XV

RADIO, CINEMA, AND MUSIC

The leaders of the October revolution, from previous experience in 1905 and during the armed demonstrations in July, 1917, realized the importance of controlling all means of communication. Therefore, among the first objectives in the program of seizure of power was the existing wireless equipment. The large broadcasting stations were then used to announce the events at the capital to the rest of the country, and the Revolution in Russia to the world at large. Attention was given without delay to the development of the radio, for several reasons. The aim of world-revolution suggested the widest use of wireless messages addressed: "To All." National frontiers did not exist for the radio and it was believed that at least some of these messages would reach the working masses in other countries. Within their own country the use of the wireless message made it possible to get through to centers which otherwise could not have been reached. The network of telegraph and telephone communication was inadequate and limited to the large centers; and the disorders attending the Revolution destroyed many of these lines of communication. With the development of civil war, intervening hostile areas had to be crossed to maintain contact between the centers where the Revolution had succeeded. It became the practice to use the wireless for sending out general instructions and even specific orders, as well as news of success, from the centers of Moscow and Leningrad to the Communist groups in other cities. The aims and methods of the Revolution called for mass action, so that the widest possible publicity was necessary and there was no need for secrecy.

When the Revolution had finally triumphed on the military and political fronts and could turn its attention to the cultural front, it had already developed the practice and machinery of communication by wireless. The plan to cover the whole Soviet Union with high-powered broadcasting and relaying stations was conceived, the first units of a comprehensive system having already been set up. (It was estimated that by 1927 the Soviet Union had some sixty broadcasting stations). In the cultural revolution which was to be carried out, the radio also was to help meet the problem of the widespread illiteracy in

the masses; even those unable to read could be reached. It was believed that the radio would act as an incentive to the development of literacy, that the interest aroused by the ideas received over the radio would develop the desire to read the newspapers. For agitation and propaganda the radio had an unquestioned value.

It was the hope that there would be a wireless receiving apparatus in every village of the Soviet Union by 1927, as part of the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Revolution. On September 1, 1927, according to official records, there were in the entire country only about 213,000 receiving sets, of which less than 10 per cent were in the villages. All receiving sets must be registered under the Soviet law, and there is a fee for registration; it is probable, therefore, that all do not register and that the number is in excess of the official statistics. One writer recently estimated that the number of receiving sets was perhaps as high as half a million. But even this figure is considered very low by the Communists themselves, in comparison with the figures for other countries and the plans and efforts to develop the use of the radio. During a visit, extending over a week, to a group of villages within three hundred miles of Moscow, I saw only one radio. This was a small crystal set owned by a village school teacher and set up in his room. Through this set it was possible to hear Moscow only by strained concentration. I was told that a portable radio came to the central community of this group of villages from time to time.

Technical difficulties have retarded the program to spread receiving sets to the rural communities. The absence of electric power makes the problem a difficult one. Also, the sets produced by the Soviet industry have been very poor in quality. Battery difficulties and the constant breakdown of the apparatus have tended to discredit the radio among the peasants. Peasant correspondents write that after a few weeks "our loud-speaker became silent," and the peasants complain bitterly of the expenditure of money to no good purpose. This problem has suggested the advisability of concentrating on the more simple, individual crystal set, for the moment at least. There is an organized effort to popularize the radio. The "Friends of the Radio" presents a rather loose form of organization. Among the circles of workmen's clubs, village reading-rooms, and even the Red Corners, or in schools, there will be a Radio Circle. The members agitate for the installation of a loud-speaking receiving set and collect subscriptions to this end. They also study the technical side of the radio, and perhaps themselves construct a simple receiving set. Finally, they are expected to influence the content of the radio programs by noting

what appeals to the workmen or peasants, at the same time serving as the medium through which the character of the program will be explained and justified to the workmen and peasant. Thus they are the propagandists of a "purposeful" use of the radio. A magazine is published for this group to develop interest in, and knowledge of, the technical side of radio broadcasting; it contains announcements of programs and general discussion of these programs, and one of the important functions of this publication is to promote a proper "ideology" among radio auditors.

The two main broadcasting stations of Moscow are those of the Communist International and of the Trade-Union of Soviet Commercial Employees. The latter is used by the Moscow Urban Soviet of Trade-Unions and by the Moscow Provincial Section of Trade-Unions. The Communist International station is the larger and more active of the two. Programs for each week are announced in all the newspapers. On Sundays the program starts in the morning and runs through the entire day. On week days the programs begin at four o'clock in the afternoon. There is no broadcasting on Saturdays. Each day either the *Peasant Newspaper* or the *Workman's Newspaper* takes an hour during which it summarizes the news of the day. The Friends of the Radio organization gives a regular service in the study of Esperanto; this language is being adopted as the international language for wireless communications by the Soviet radio enthusiasts. On one day of the week an hour is set aside for "foreign information," the language used being Esperanto. Concerts are given under the headings of "Peasant Concert" or "Children's Concert," and there are also general concerts. Lectures are sent out on such subjects as: measures against tuberculosis in animals, horse-breeding, diseases of bees, or the human nervous system—to list the lectures announced for a particular week. Then there are definitely political talks on such subjects as "The Trade-Union Movement in America" or "The International Importance and Tasks of the Red Army," to quote from a weekly program selected at random. Information is distributed to local committees of trade-unions, with respect to the procedure of elections, when such are about to take place, and on other current activities of the trade-unions. There are also lectures on the organization of co-operative societies and on general economic subjects.

In these radio programs the striking of noon and of midnight by the large clock in one of the towers of the Kremlin is always included. The provincial listeners, one is told, have expressed particular interest in this feature of the program, because it makes them feel that

they are in touch with the political center of the Soviet system. It has been the policy to select for broadcasting the best things going on in Moscow rather than to organize a special studio for transmitting a program prepared specifically for the provinces. In this way a better quality of performance can be given, it is believed. This also helps to spread the influence of what is frankly acknowledged to be the cultural as well as the political center of the Soviet order. It was an earlier practice to broadcast simply the noise of the streets of Moscow in order to give the provincial listener the feeling of being for the moment in the center of activity. There are local broadcasting stations in other large cities. The programs of these have not been secured, but it may be assumed that in general they follow those of the Moscow stations. The relaying of the Moscow program is reserved for special celebrations and occasions, although it is hoped that in the future, with the help of broadcasting and relaying, Moscow will be made accessible to the whole Soviet Union.

In the larger cities, broadcasting and amplifying are extensively used for special celebrations. A system of direct wires to the larger workmen's clubs from the broadcasting stations is being introduced for Moscow, and presumably will be used also for the other larger cities. In this way the speeches of the leaders at the demonstrations or special triumphal sessions of Soviets can reach larger groups. One reads of the plan ultimately to make it possible for the whole population of the Soviet Union to listen in on the speeches made from the Lenin Mausoleum on the big holidays of the Revolution. Recently the Moscow newspapers reported that the speeches made on the Red Square during the celebration of the tenth anniversary had been heard in Denmark.

The Workman-Peasant Inspection recently investigated the Radio Broadcasting Company, which had been given a monopoly in the sale of radio apparatus and also in the organization of broadcasting. This trust had not only run up a heavy deficit but had been very unbusinesslike and criminally negligent in the handling of its affairs. As a result it has been dissolved. The Agitational Propaganda Section of the Central Committee of the party then held a special conference on the question of the radio. There were several projects for reorganizing the business of broadcasting, and in all of the proposals there was special provision for ideological leadership by the party, for the former organization had been found unsatisfactory also in the matter of the content of its programs. There was, however, difference of opinion as to the advisability of an All-Union organization, and what

was created was an agency attached to the executive secretariat of the Council of People's Commissaries of the Soviet Union. This new governmental institution is to prepare its programs for broadcasting on the basis of a more careful study of the mass radio auditors. Also, it is to secure the co-operation of various governmental departments and other organizations, such as the trade-unions, in the elaboration of plans and programs, giving particular attention to development of collective listening-in at workmen's clubs and village reading-rooms, and thus organize the distribution of the radio receiving sets on a more systematic basis.

The cinema, or *kino*, to use the current and semi-official Russian abbreviation of the word, offers particular advantages as a channel for political education. Lenin on one occasion voiced to the Commissary of Education the opinion that "of all our arts I believe that the *kino* is the most important." There is a state cinema trust, or Goskino. The Sovkino is a state enterprise for the production and showing of Soviet films. The Commissariat of Education has sections for handling various aspects of the business of films and motion-picture shows. At a recent local provincial conference on the question of the motion-picture theater, there were representatives of the Kino Section of the Education Board of the province, as well as the Political-Education Section. The workmen's clubs use films extensively, and at this local conference the so-called cult-commission of the trade-union authorities for the province was also represented.

During the first years of the Revolution there was practically no production of Soviet films with the exception of short news films. In the motion-picture theaters foreign films were shown, and a few of the old Russian films that had been produced before the October revolution. The foreign films practically monopolized the field despite the fact that they were considered ideologically inacceptable to the Soviet audience and frequently politically demoralizing. It was not until 1923 that the so-called state *kino* was organized. Soon there began to appear Soviet films in competition with the foreign films. By 1926 the motion pictures shown in the Soviet Union had come to fall into three distinct groups: there were the foreign films, the new Soviet films, and the so-called "educational films." Motion-picture theaters were of two general types: large motion-picture "palaces" run by the state *kino* on a commercial, profit-making basis; and motion picture shows on the programs of entertainment in workmen's clubs.

In order to meet the problem of extending the cinematograph to the villages, a special Cinema Section of the Political Education

Section was instituted in 1924. One of the first tasks of this new department was to establish a standard type of apparatus which could be used in the villages where electric power is seldom available. It was also necessary to organize the service to a whole group of villages by a single apparatus. A study was made of the requirements and tastes of the village audience. Finally, an organized propaganda to spread the idea of acquiring an apparatus was started in the country districts. Films based on village life were prepared in the belief that these would appeal particularly to the peasant audience. In 1927 there were about fifteen hundred cinematographs operating in the rural communities. This was admitted to be a very small number, and also it was noted that good films suitable for the village had not yet been worked out. The villages often received only the old reels worn out by use in the cities.

In 1924 only 28.5 per cent of the pictures shown in the Soviet Union were the so-called Soviet films, the balance being foreign. In 1925 the percentage had increased to 30, and there has been a continued gain by the Soviet film on the foreign film. Nevertheless, in 1927, foreign pictures continued to dominate in the commercial theater, although none had been passed without being worked over and changed, with the exception of several comedies and certain educational films. A special editorial board, called the "Political Editing Department," had charge of the work of adapting foreign productions for the Soviet audience. The Repertory Section of the Commissariat of Education had censorship jurisdiction over films as well as dramatic productions (its methods were discussed in the preceding chapter dealing with the theater). For Soviet films a special Art Soviet for the Kino attached to the Political Education Section gave the ideological direction with respect to content. During 1925 some three hundred scenarios were submitted to the Art Soviet, and of these less than half were passed. The majority of the scenarios submitted were either "politically ungrammatical" or they had no relation to social themes or they were purely agitational in character, besides being utterly devoid of artistic value, it was reported by this committee. Of the scenarios passed, six related to the history of the struggle of the working class, eleven were based on episodes of the civil war, nine described in general contemporary social conditions, and fourteen were descriptive of village life. There were six films based on the culture and customs of national minorities. Educational films numbered forty-six. Only two films were classified as based on exploits or adventures, and eight were indicated as comedies. The balance, about forty,

evidently did not lend themselves to classification and were brought together under the heading of "others."

At a conference in 1927 of the Friends of the Soviet Kino the opening speech was made by Krupskaya, the chairman of the Political Education Section of the Commissariat of Education. She emphasized the fact that many wrongfully consider the motion-picture performance as simply a form of amusement. She also pointed out that the cinema can be very harmful as well as very useful; that with its remarkable technique it not only can reflect facts but can pervert them. She explained that the "bourgeoisie" has used the technique of the motion picture to misrepresent facts, in order to carry on its religious propaganda among the masses or its propaganda of petty-bourgeois morality. The high technique worked out in America and Western Europe must of course be used, she insisted; but in the Soviet *kino* a quite different ideological content must be introduced. Thus she explained that "the Soviet *kino* must prepare and show such films as will help the mass spectator to understand more deeply the actualities and the ideas of the revolutionary struggle."

In connection with a wide discussion of the function of the *kino* the *Peasant Newspaper* of Moscow held a new form of meeting on the "Kino in the Village." The meeting consisted of short articles by prominent leaders in answer to letters from the villages complaining of the character of the films and of the high cost of the performances. One of the objects of this discussion was to determine what films the peasants preferred. A statement by Meshcheriakov, one of the responsible workers in the Political Educational Section of the Commissariat of Education, gave the following statistical data on the *kino*. He estimated the number of cantons and regions of the Union at 3,000. In all of these during 1927 there were less than 1,000 stationary or migrating motion-picture outfits. Thus in the rural communities there was one motion-picture center for 92,000 inhabitants. There were tens of thousands of villages where the peasant had never seen a motion picture; in some villages the motion-picture outfit came once or twice a month. On the other hand, there were 2,000 outfits which no longer worked because of need of repairs. Another writer called attention to the fact that there was no motion-picture apparatus in some 50 district cities, 300 large settlements of an urban character, and 2,000 large agricultural centers, not to mention the large percentage of the agricultural cantons. Yet, according to another contributor to this discussion, himself a local editor of peasant origin, Lenin had said that a good motion-picture film would do the work of

thousands of agitators and that the Soviet *kino* was one of the best means of carrying the slogans of the party and the government to the peasant villages. It has been estimated that during 1927 there was an aggregate attendance at the motion-picture show of 200,000,000 for the whole Union; while several films, such as *The Cruiser Potemkin,* were seen by 2,000,000 individuals.

A series of national enterprises, such as the Chuvash Kino or the Uzbek Kino have also been started. Because of lack of personnel and resources, these local groups have been very amateurish in their methods and have on the whole failed. The stimulus to these local efforts came from those who believed that the state *kino* was not giving sufficient attention to the use of local life in the preparation of Soviet films. The opinion was also stated that the central workers in the field of the *kino* had not realized fully that the motion picture was the most understandable and accessible form of art for the backward national minorities, among whom illiteracy was particularly widespread.

Of the long list of Soviet films, I was able to see only a few. The film *The Little Red Devils* has been described in the chapter on the Pioneers; depicting these children-heroes of the period of the civil war, it had a clearly propagandist aim. The other Soviet films always emphasized the slogans of the Revolution, and I was discouraged from going to more of them because of the unceasing propaganda, from which there seemed to be no escape. The *Cruiser Potemkin* is probably the most successful technically, and also the best known of the Soviet films. It is based on the historic fact of a mutiny in the Black Seas fleet during the revolution of 1905. With a group of Americans I saw this film in the summer of 1926 at Moscow. The audience did not respond with marked enthusiasm except when the Red flag was raised. This film was slightly altered for foreign consumption; the scene of the shooting of the crowd by the Cossacks was somewhat reduced, particularly where the shooting is directed against children; the killing of a priest during the mutiny on the naval vessel was completely cut out. Seeing the film in New York, I found that the audience showed much more feeling and enthusiasm than did the Moscow audience. The explanation may be that a large number of the Moscow audience had themselves lived through revolutionary events and fighting such as were shown on the screen. The main theme of a film entitled *The Revolver and the Cross* is the espionage activity on the part of Catholic priests in the interests of a foreign "capitalistic" government, and there are also several scenes depicting most realistically Jewish *pogroms* under the old régime.

Comparing the reaction of a Moscow audience to the revolutionary film *The Revolver and the Cross* and to Douglas Fairbanks' *The Mark of Zoro*, one noted greater enthusiasm for the latter. There was plenty of action in the film on the revolutionary theme, and on the technical side this Soviet production was excellent. But political propaganda stood out in every scene of the Soviet production, and there was no getting away from it. The crowd responded very coldly to the climaxes, which could always be translated into one of the current slogans. There was little spontaneity when the audience did applaud, and there were very few occasions when a hearty laugh was in order. On the other hand, at *The Mark of Zoro* the audience was keenly attentive, constantly bursting into laughter; and one felt clearly the spirit of relaxation. For the outsider who had been going conscientiously to a considerable number of Soviet films it was a real relief to get away from political propaganda; and the audience seemed to register a similar reaction.

The scientific or educational film has been widely developed by the Soviet government. There were already about two dozen of these films in 1926, and the program outlined had not been completed. Of these films, the only one which I saw was *Drink, Labor, and Health.* A postmortem of a man who had died from overdrinking was thrown on the screen in all its details. There were many diagrams showing the results of drink on health and particularly on working capacity. The diagrams were supplemented by staged scenes; a section entitled "What a Drunken Chauffeur Sees" was a very successful piece of film staging. Other pictures showed tests in lifting and hammering before and after a generous drink of vodka. Finally a case of delirium tremens in action was photographed, and the film concluded with pictures of idiots born of drinking parents, and of cases of insanity due to drink. Other films have been made for use in the campaigns against tuberculosis and syphilis. These educational films are shown almost exclusively at Workmen's Clubs, village reading-rooms, or similar institutions. The effort to get these films into the commercial movies has been, on the whole, unsuccessful. Through government control it is believed that these films are protected against unscientific and pornographic use.

"Movie evenings" are the more popular activities in the workmen's clubs or village reading-rooms. Often a film will be announced for the conclusion of a report or discussion of a political character. One will find the workman hanging around outside the lecture-room, waiting for the movie to come on. The club managements have re-

sponded to this demand of the membership by increasing the number of movie evenings. This tendency has been criticized however; and at one conference of the party, where the subject of the *kino* was the order of the day, a resolution was adopted to the effect that the workman's club should not be converted into a mere motion-picture theater.

In March of 1928 the whole question of the character and use of the cinema came up for detailed and authoritative discussion. The state cinema trust had been investigated; and although it could show commercial profit, it was not following the directives of the party or subordinating its policies to those of various governmental departments. The subject of the policies of the Soviet *kino* had been brought to attention in the previous November during the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Revolution. At that time the cinema trust, instead of concentrating on Soviet films as its contribution to the revolutionary celebrations, had given primarily foreign, American films. *Scaramouche* was put on in the leading Moscow motion-picture theaters instead of *The Cruiser Potemkin*, or *The Mother* by Gorky, complained the Communist journalists and leaders. After informal discussions in local conferences of various kinds and in the press, a party conference was convened to work over the material produced by the discussion and to define and determine a new policy for the use of the *kino*. In this way, "proletarian Soviet public opinion" was mobilized for the purpose of exercising a larger measure of control in the field of the film.

As part of this mobilization of public opinion, the collegium of the Commissariat of Education re-examined the whole program of the Soviet *kino* for the production of films for the current year. One hundred and twenty-nine films were to be produced; and it was found that of these, thirteen were on the general revolutionary movement in Russia, fifteen on the October revolution and the civil war, and seven on the international revolutionary movement. Three scenarios dealt with life and conditions of the Red army, twenty-two were on the general subject of socialist construction, nine portrayed the struggle for culture, and three the struggle against bureaucratism and the struggle against drunkenness and rowdyism. There were two films representing antireligious propaganda, while one aimed to combat anti-Semitism. Seven films had as their theme the Pioneer movement among children. In every case in these films the basic scenes were taken from the life of workmen and peasants. The balance of the films in the program of production evidently were unsatisfactory. Many of the films had already been started, so that the Main Repertory Committee of the

Commissariat could not carry out fully its function of control from the point of view of ideological content. And in general it was found that the productions of the Soviet *kino* did not stand the test from the ideological point of view. "The Sovkino gave way to the pressure of the tastes and demands of the mere inhabitant," was one of the decisions of the Commissariat of Education. Also the Soviet *kino* did not try to associate Soviet civic institutions with its work and in fact resisted attempts of the latter to influence it. Consequently it did not carry out properly the directives of the party or the government to promote energetically the use of the *kino* in the village, to supply better the workmen's districts in the cities, and to give chief attention always to the content of the film. In the final resolution of the collegium the Soviet *kino* was urged to "create films which stand the test ideologically, present themes of actual life, and at the same time represent works of art."

This general discussion of the whole problem seemed to indicate that the public, including workmen and peasants, has become surfeited with films depicting the struggle and heroism of the period of civil war. The claim is made that the foreign films, with emphasis on romance or mere purposeless adventure, also do not appeal to the audience of workmen and peasants, though they may meet the demands of the nepmen, the petty-bourgeoisie, or the mere inhabitant. What the workmen and also the peasants want, it is insisted, are films showing the progress of economic reconstruction, the processes of production, and socialistic methods of economic activity, which will satisfy their demand for more knowledge. At one meeting a speaker expressed the view that the *kino* should serve exclusively as a means of relaxation. This opinion met with no support, however, and led to positive insistence that the motion-picture film must be considered always as a means of education and training.

It was also the reported opinion of workmen and peasants that foreign films should be eliminated and only Soviet films used. Such a policy meets with two practical difficulties, however. Only in 1927 did any of the Soviet films show a profit, while the foreign films had made it possible for the Soviet *kino* to exist and grow commercially. In the second place, the present production of Soviet films is inadequate to supply the demand of the already existing motion-picture establishments of various kinds. The first fact would seem to indicate that there is a conflict between the Communists and the Soviet authorities on the one hand and the motion picture public on the other. The former wish to use the *kino,* with all its possibilities, for political edu-

cation, as part of the struggle on the cultural front. The motion-picture public clearly prefers the comic, picturesque, and adventurous pictures produced abroad. And too, it is the latter that make the profits. In resolutions, at formal meetings the workmen and peasants put themselves on record as preferring the educational film of Soviet production; in actual practice, the workmen apparently go to the commercial motion-picture theater rather than to the *kino* evening at their clubs. The peasants have no choice, and go to the migratory show if they have the price of admission when it happens to come their way.

The results of a questionnaire on the *kino* among a large group of children in the primary schools of Moscow also show a tendency to prefer foreign films. The smaller children expressed dislike of films about love, but they all mentioned with enthusiasm the pictures of "Doug," as Fairbanks is called also in the Soviet Union. In explaining their preference for foreign films to the Soviet films, the children wrote: "There another life is shown"; "There rich people have a good time"; "We know our own life anyway"; or "Our life is boring and poor." Eight hundred pupils named 224 children's films which they had seen, but gave an approving report on only one of them. Practically no good comedies are to be found in the Soviet films; the Communists themselves admit this.

The party conference on the *kino* of 1928 finally defined the tasks of the latter as conceived by the Communist leaders. The first task is to make the *kino* in fact a means of leadership, education, and organization of the masses around the tasks of socialist construction and cultural development. This leadership must be in the hands of the proletariat, and therefore the class line must be sharply drawn and the present petty-bourgeois and mere-inhabitant tendencies in the policies of production of films must be definitely liquidated. The second task is to bring together and properly organize creative workers in the field of the *kino* who will guarantee proper ideological content as well as artistic value and also bring the *kino* closer to workmen and peasants. The third task is to orientate the *kino* toward workmen and peasants, not only in the matter of the content of the pictures but also with respect to the organization and economic basis of the business of production and distribution. One suggestion has been that the *kino* should be so developed as to replace drinking; thus the film would substitute for vodka as relaxation for the toilers, and at the same time serve as a source of revenue to the public treasury.

In his concluding speech at the All-Union party conference on the

kino, the chairman brought out the following facts and made the following suggestions. The demands of workmen and peasants have not been adequately served, the production of films being adapted to a considerable degree to the tastes of the mere inhabitant. Where the film stands the ideological test, it is defective from the point of view of art and proves uninteresting to the audience. Too much attention has been given to the commercial theaters which give the greater profit, to the neglect of workmen's clubs and village reading-rooms. There has not been to date sufficient leadership of the *kino* by the party, and such must be increased. A directing organ must be set up which will be primarily a political and cultural organ directly associated with the Central Committee of the party. Despite the divergence of opinion on many points of detail, there is general agreement on the need of enforcing the class line in all cultural work, including the *kino*. In the formal resolutions adopted by this conference the following is noted:

> The *kino* is to be recognized as one form of agitational, educational, and training work. Therefore the Commissariat of Education, the Commissariat of Agriculture, the Commissariat of Health, and the cultural sections of the trade-unions must give the film-producing organizations orders for specific cultural films, and finance such orders. Side by side with the book, the *kino* must become an educational manual.

Another point in these resolutions calls attention to the fact that at last the *kino* has been brought under the "glass cover" of party and Soviet public opinion, and that those responsible for the organization of film production will learn that these resolutions are not paper resolutions and that the party will see that the resolutions of the conference and the directives of the party are actually carried out.

What the Communists expect of the *kino* is perhaps made clear in the review of a film entitled *The End of St. Petersburg*, produced at the beginning of 1928. The reviewer points out that the central theme of the play is the contrasting of the "dark and blindly working forces which come out from the peasantry with the skilled and revolutionary factory proletariat." The factory workman recognizes the need of organized class struggle, while the peasant lad tries to decide a particular question by ethical and anarchistic revolt in an attempt to secure justice. The writer comments that "the consciousness among peasants and workmen of their mutual class union and of a common cause develops as a result of the common yoke of the power of capitalism and tsarism, and this consciousness finds its final expression in a common uprising that is the October of workmen and peasants." The film is criticized on the ground that this basic theme is not convincing-

ly set forth. A Soviet film must be "saturated with active revolutionary Communistic content, in this respect differing sharply from bourgeois films, thus giving to the world forms of moving pictures the force of which will bring nearer the day of the victory of the world-revolution," to quote from another Communist writer.

The "crisis" in the cinema has led to attempts to make more active the Friends of the Soviet Kino. This voluntary society is a mass organization with definite political aims. It has 400 cells with 35,000 members, 35 per cent of these members being workmen. It is now planned to increase the membership, particularly among workmen. The society has already started practical work by acquiring motion-picture apparatus which passes from group to group, and by organizing regular and also correspondence courses on the mechanics of the motion picture. There is also an Association of Revolutionary Cinematographs organized in a series of cities in connection with motion-picture factories. Special journals published in connection with the *kino* have been severely criticized on the ground that they aim to satisfy the petty-bourgeois auditor rather than the workmen and peasants, and therefore do not serve as the proper ideological center, giving little attention to the question of training for leadership. The Friends of the Soviet Kino, as a predominately proletarian organization, is to help develop such leadership, under the direction of the party.

For music the October revolution represented the beginning of state organization of the musical world. For the first time, it is claimed, music came to be regarded as a social force. As a factor for organizing attitudes music became politically important and something which was needed by the state. For this reason it was to be promoted, especially along the line of self-organization. This idea of organizing, which is always present in the Soviet system, expressed itself with particular clearness in the field of music because the Communists believed that organization was particularly absent in the musical world. The music of the pre-revolutionary Russia was, according to the Communists, in the hands of private persons who handled it in a haphazard manner; there was a certain amount of state encouragement, but there was no general plan. As in the case of other fields of art, the first period of the Revolution was characterized by the effort to get possession of the treasures of musical art for the new class which had come into power. This basic thought was responsible for the idea of centralizing all musical activity. An active campaign of musical education was started among the new auditors; the operas and concerts were to be organized primarily for workmen. Many of

the professional musicians were unable to adapt themselves to the new economic conditions and went into emigration. Political convictions as well as economic conditions furnished the motive in the case of many of those who became refugees. This emigration meant a loss of technical leaders, but it also tended to clear the field for a younger generation.

Recognizing that themes play a secondary rôle in music, the Communists have not been disturbed by the fact that the music which developed with the Revolution has not lent itself to a full expression of revolutionary ideology. Also, even the younger of the contemporary composers had been trained in the previous epoch; and though they came into activity in the period of the Revolution, they have stood to one side in the matter of the choice of subjects. The influence of the Revolution showed itself in a tendency toward monumentalism and a conscious striving for simplicity. Here the Communists have seen an effort to fill in the breach which they believed existed before, between the musical consciousness of the masses and the highly trained, select group. One is told that several of the most talented composers have unconsciously recognized that music not only can be used for the purposes of organization but is essentially a method of organization, a means of influencing which can be utilized effectively. In one composer the Communists find a clear expression of a Marxian materialistic attainment in the musical language; before the Revolution the Russian consciousness had inclined toward mysticism and romanticism in music, it is explained.

Music has also been a medium through which the awakened consciousness of a racial minority in the Soviet Union has been able freely to express itself. Thus the Jewish nation, it is said, is celebrating musically its liberation from centuries of oppression, by the creation of its own national style, not of an amateurish popular character but of a high artistic standard. Other national groups had found it possible even under the old régime to register their national traits in music. But the non-Russian groups were subjected to limitations and even persecution. Now, it is stressed, even the more backward racial minorities have at last been able freely to develop their national music. There has been the widest encouragement of this form of self-determination, with subordination of the fact of nationality to the higher principle of class, as in all other fields. The folk songs of the Ukrainian peasants or the ditties of the workman of a racial minority have been given particular emphasis.

As in the case of literature, there has been what is called "agita-

tion" music. Certain popular musical forms, such as the songs and musical dialogues of peasants and workmen, have been organized with respect to their subject matter. In this way revolutionary ideas and slogans have been carried down by the easiest route to the masses. These forms of music are not looked upon as the art of the future or even as representing an independent artistic value. There is no pretense to see in these forms other than convenient media for propaganda. In support of these forms of musical expression there has been active encouragement of the use of the two national Russian musical instruments, the *balalaika,* which is a kind of mandolin, and the accordion, which is so widespread in Russia as also to represent a popular institution. The peasants and workmen accompany their group-singing on these two instruments. Circles of Friends of the Balalaika and of Friends of the Accordion will be found in many clubs and villages, and contests have been organized to encourage these circles.

The large attendance at concerts organized in connection with a recent competition of accordion-players has been interpreted as indicating that this type of music makes a very strong appeal among the masses. Also, the accordion is spoken of as representing more than mere entertainment, because it is so closely associated with the everyday life of the popular masses. "The masses know the accordion; they love it, and they trust it. That is why the accordion, and also the simple stringed-instruments of the people, such as the balalaika, are our best allies in our struggle against backwardness and lack of culture of all kinds," is the comment of a Communist reviewer. He further remarks that the accordion is more accessible as an instrument of propaganda than so-called "cultured music." An article on this competition of accordion-players pointed out that there were comparatively few classical pieces among the selections played by the participants in the competition, but more peasant folk songs and revolutionary songs of workmen and Red army soldiers, as compared with a similar competition in 1927. At this earlier and first competition, most of the selections had been taken from the music of the gipsy chorus or of the cabaret of Western Europe. These two types of music were entirely absent at this second competition. It was suggested, however, that the musical sector of the State Publishing Trust should give more attention to the publication of music for individual and group accordion-players. The private trader has had a very large influence in the musical market and has prevented the exercise of the degree of direction and control which is deemed possible and desirable.

As musical education was recognized from the beginning as a state

need, steps were taken to reorganize the institutions for the training of the professional musicians. The conservatories of music were thrown open to a wider group of students in order to introduce the proletarian element into the musical profession. It is stated that more scientific methods have been introduced in these reorganized musical academies, but an explanation of the exact character of the new methods has not been noted, except that they are in the direction of collectivism. A novel and characteristic idea is the leaderless orchestra, or "the symphonic ensemble," which, it is claimed, shows clearly the psychology of the Revolution. The first expression of this idea was spoken of as representing an "October" (revolution) in the orchestral field, a protest against the psychological violence exercised by the leader with respect to the orchestra as a whole. Also, it was explained, the orchestral director took to himself all the artistic "profit," using the "labor" of the musicians and thus in a sense becoming the "capitalist" in the eyes of the "proletariat" of the orchestra. The leaderless orchestra did not become a general fact, however, and was confined to a few isolated experiments.

The Revolution did not have to wait for its anthem to be written; there was at hand the "International" and it became forthwith the Soviet national hymn. The revolutionary leaders and those of the workmen whom they had already reached during the years of underground activity knew its music and its words. No large gathering, official or unofficial, is complete without the singing of the "International," and one hears it on all occasions, from children as well as workmen, and in villages as well as in Red army barracks. A traditional revolutionary funeral march was also at hand, widely sung during the revolution of 1905, and was adopted as the second semi-official anthem of the Revolution. Its music is solemn and at the same time stirring, and it begins with the words: "You have fallen victims of the struggle." The Young Communists and the Pioneers have their special marching songs, the words of which of course deal with revolutionary struggle and conquests. "The March of the Pioneers" is set to a simple but stirring tune, and its chorus concludes with the words: "We are the young guard of workmen and peasants." For Young Communists the *chastushka* has been given new themes and words. These sung dialogues between individuals or whole groups lend themselves well to the purposes of propaganda. Before, the more current themes were subjects of romance, although the general life of the individual type or group was described as a background. This form of more or less spontaneous self-entertainment in an informal gathering

has always been very popular among Russian workmen and peasants, with their fondness for and ability in group and dramatized singing. The *chastushka* has become an excellent channel for the spreading of the new ideas. It is used extensively by the Young Communists in connection with their antireligious propaganda, for example.

Special workmen's songs have been produced in great numbers. Often it is the old music which has simply been given words appropriate to the new period. The proletarian poets here have made a political contribution, singing the praises of the Revolution and describing the changes which it has brought in the lives of the workmen. The words of one of the most popular of the new workmen's songs, "The Little Bricks," were discussed in the previous chapter. The music of this song is in the minor key, and in that respect suggests the traditional Russian folk song. There is, however, a note of triumph and authority in the music of this song, corresponding to its words. The soldiers of the Red army sing as extensively as did those of the old army. Side by side with the official "International" and the semi-official songs of the workmen, the Red army soldiers marching through the streets sing the old songs, but with different words. The students also have their songs. It was in a group of students in the corridors of a Workmen's Faculty of Moscow that I heard what I recognized immediately as a church anthem. But as I listened more closely I realized that it was informal antireligious propaganda. The music of the anthem was used to emphasize the attack on religious ideas which the words expressed.

The popular music of the aristocracy and rich class of pre-revolutionary Russia was the singing of the gipsy chorus. These troupes of gipsy singers generally performed only in the private dining-rooms of the most expensive restaurants. One finds them today in the large cities. Until recently the gipsies sang only in the cellar-restaurants, whose patrons came for the most part from the new bourgeois class. But within the last years the gipsies have come out into the open, singing in large popular restaurants. At one place the audience was proletarian in appearance but represented clearly the worst elements of the class, although the restaurant was under the management of the largest of the co-operative societies of the capital. In the Blue Blouses one has a substitute for the gipsies; this organization is Soviet at least externally. The name comes from the adoption of the Russian workman's traditional dress. The Russian blouse, the tucked-in trousers, and the high boots, which constitute the distinguishing features of the most widespread form of dress prevalent

among workmen in Russia, have been given a stylish cut and a patent-leather finish by these young entertainers. Associated with them there are several orchestras. The music played seemed mainly distinguished by volume of sound and rapidity of tempo. The Blue Blouses troupes of actors are mentioned again as representing music as well as dramatic art. Originally conceived as essentially an agency of propaganda in the presenting of the living newspaper, these small troupes of actors-singers-dancers have on the one hand developed the artistic side of their work, and on the other have drifted to mere entertainment as opposed to political education. Because of this tendency, they have fallen somewhat into disrepute. To the bourgeois observer they proved to be in fact the most lively and entertaining public performance in a rather wide experience of seeking out particularly the various types of entertainment provided under the Soviet system. The skits on current problems were clever, and often caustically critical of revolutionary achievements. The subject matter was Soviet in character, that is, it included the themes and questions of the day; but there was a distinct touch of flippancy in the treatment of revolutionary slogans. It is perhaps the freedom of criticism which the Blue Blouses have adopted that has led to their fall from grace.

In Moscow and Leningrad the vaudeville in a summer garden and the circus in winter have been continued. On the vaudeville stage in the songs of individuals or groups current political topics often appear. In the circus the clowns are able to touch on "burning questions of the day," that is, on revolutionary themes. In a few instances the principles of the Revolution have been indirectly attacked, under the cover of humor, by vaudeville singers or circus clowns. But the most famous clown of Moscow was given the title of "People's Artist," together with other outstanding figures of the Russian stage, presumably for his attitude toward the Revolution as well as for his talent. But the acrobats, trained animals, riding, or even music-hall songs have not lent themselves readily to the task of political education in the course of entertainment.

The musical circles of various kinds in workmen's clubs, Red army units, and village reading-rooms have already been mentioned; they are among the most popular of the circles. Here one has two factors working to promote this particular form of club activity. There is the traditional popularity of singing and music in general among the broader masses in Russia, represented by the volume and artistic qualities of Russian folk music, and there is the conscious effort of the leaders of the Revolution to utilize to the full the opportunities offered

by music to reach the masses. Even classical music is to serve political aims under the Soviet system, as part of a program to spread culture to the broader masses but also as a channel of influence. It has been more difficult to attain this last aim, however. In connection with the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Revolution, a Communist musical critic complained that the personality of Lenin and his revolutionary work have not been reflected in music, although musical art in his opinion has come finally to possess the technique of artistic expression of revolutionary themes. As an example of such attainment he mentioned the "Mourning Ode" of a well-known composer, Krein. He found that other composers had succeeded in giving the "image of Lenin" in their compositions. The complaint of the writer was that no one had yet produced a symphony reflecting the revolutionary creativeness of Lenin, corresponding to the *Symphonie Eroica* of Beethoven.

CHAPTER XVI

INTERNATIONALISM AND NATIONALISM

Marxism is essentially an internationalist doctrine; and the Communist founders and leaders of the Soviet order, in which it has been applied as Bolshevism or Leninism, always emphasize the international basis of their doctrine and politics. On the other hand, the marked development of a nationalist attitude among the masses during the period of the Soviet régime is a fact which all outside students and observers note and emphasize. One finds many paradoxes in Russia in general, and particularly in the Revolution; the explanation in this instance is to be found, in part at least, in that aspect of Soviet civic training which touches on the relations of the Soviet citizen to the outside world. The Soviet citizen is expected to be an internationalist, but the concrete facts of the present have given to this conception a distinctly nationalistic coloring. The methods used to produce the internationalist have resulted in the development of a strong nationalistic sentiment. The internationalism of the Soviet order at times suggests the aggressive Russian nationalism which the world knew before the establishment of the "first toilers' state in history." Finally, within the Soviet Union there are local nationalisms of considerable vigor, in some respects stronger and more conscious than before the Revolution with its theory and practice of internationalism.

It had become a commonplace before the Revolution to remark that many groups as well as individuals in Russia leaned toward internationalism and consequently were markedly non-nationalist. A lack of patriotism has been a trait attributed to many Russians. This generalization is on the whole correct but must be somewhat analyzed. The political and social conditions of the old order were responsible for what to a Westerner would be an abnormal attitude. There was a strong Russian nationalism under the tsar, but it was an official nationalism and consequently an exclusive and militant one. Such a nationalism was inacceptable to the Russian of liberal views; to the socialist it was anathema. This fact was in part responsible for the strength of internationalist views in the Russian intelligentsia. On the other hand, one of the foundations of the political views of conservative groups was a militant Russian nationalism, and the old

autocratic order rested to a considerable degree on this official nationalism. The Russian nationalism of the old régime fed on the persecution of the non-Russian racial minorities of the empire. Russian patriotism could therefore not be expected of the Pole or Finn, and in the case of the Ukrainian it was weakened by the limitations which it implied, even for the expression of Ukrainian cultural aspirations. The Jews particularly were treated as second-class subjects under the old Russian régime, and as a consequence internationalism was particularly strong among them, especially in the intelligentsia. Among the workmen the absence of rights under the old order helped the underground propaganda of the socialists also with respect to the international aspect of their doctrine. The revolution of 1905 had destroyed, or at least weakened, the simple, direct faith in the sovereign as "the little father," which represented the strongest element of patriotism in the workman masses. A marked weakening of faith in the "little father" had come among the peasants as well, as a result of the revolution of 1905 and of general cultural and political development. The cultural backwardness of the peasants prevented the development of a more reasoned patriotism. Peasants' interests were centered on their local village conditions, and these were not such as to promote a strong attachment to the existing order, with its officials and officers of the landlord class.

The two and a half years of the World War led to a development of Russian patriotism, even in the broader masses. The liberals and even the moderate socialists became patriots. The non-Russian elements concluded that their best hope lay in Russian victory in cooperation with the Allies. The Russian workmen and peasants, as usual, proved excellent fighters and, despite the hardships, seemed to recognize, at least vaguely, the national interests involved in the conflict. The leaders of the public, as opposed to the bureaucracy, tried to secure the repeal of the laws limiting workmen's organizations and keeping the peasants a tributary class, as a war measure to promote patriotism, which was being put to a severe test as the armies met defeats and the economic burden became heavier. The February revolution of 1917 was, on the one hand, a revolt on patriotic grounds, particularly for the intelligentsia, but also for workmen and peasants; the old order was "guilty of treason or stupidity." At the same time the February revolution was an elemental mass protest against the economic conditions which had developed, in large measure as a result of the stupidity of the old bureaucracy. In the presence of this economic breakdown the mass of the people were war-weary.

One of the issues of the February revolution was the question of the relation between the war and the Revolution. It can be stated in the simple terms of the slogans used in the struggle that started. The conservatives and liberals were accused by their opponents to the left of trying to use the war situation to defeat the Revolution, or at least to limit its development. The moderate socialists called for the continuation of the war in defense of the Revolution. The Bolsheviks opposed continued participation in an "imperialistic war in the interests of landlords and capitalists" and put forward the slogan: "Convert the Imperialistic War into Civil War in All Countries," advocating an immediate application to Russia in their other slogan, "All Power to the Soviets," to the class institutions of workmen and peasants. Class interests were to prevail over national loyalty; proletarian solidarity was the basis for the Bolshevik propaganda of fraternization between the workmen and peasants of the opposing trenches. The moderate socialists, who accepted the war as a defense of the Revolution and at the same time were ready to co-operate with other classes in order to continue the war, were branded by the Bolsheviks as "socialist-patriots" and traitors to socialism and to the interests of workmen and peasants. The Bolsheviks admitted a war of defense only with respect to a state in which authority had passed into the hands of workmen and peasants. The basis for a new loyalty was being laid in all this discussion of the relation of the war to the Revolution.

Another slogan which came out from the Russian revolution at this time was: "Peace without Annexations and Indemnities, and on the Principle of the Right of Peoples to Self-determination." While accepted by liberals and moderate socialists, this formula was in fact the program of the internationalists. Later, when supplemented by the other idea of the Soviet form of state, with its government of workmen and peasants, and a Soviet Union, it was in complete harmony with the idea of world-revolution. It implied a recognition of the principle of nationality as the beginning of a revolutionary struggle, in the case of an oppressed racial minority or of the nationalist movement of a people "subject to the yoke of world-imperialism." As applicable to Russia in 1917, it was an attack on the supporters of Russian nationalism, which had been strengthened among the intelligentsia by the war and was being promoted by them in the masses as part of the Revolution. In accepting this formula, the moderate socialists were involved in another contradiction, which the Bolsheviks were able to use to further their campaign against the idea of a "war

of defense" at this period of the Revolution. With the October revolution and the establishment of the Soviet régime the Bolshevik ideas on internationalism and nationalism received practical application.

In the relations of Soviet Russia with the outside world, the two general periods already noted stand out clearly. There was "war communism" up to 1921; and during these years not only was the Soviet régime not recognized diplomatically but the territory under its control was subjected to an economic blockade, and there was military intervention by foreign "capitalistic" powers. The Red army fought the armed forces of the Whites, the armies of "landlords and capitalists"; and the latter were supported by "world-capitalism." Parts of the old empire temporarily held by the "enemy" were gradually regained to Sovietism, and Sovietism was also gaining ground in the world at large. Soviet régimes were set up in Hungary and Bavaria, and in the revolution in Germany the Soviet idea was present. The Red army reached Riga and the gates of Warsaw, carrying with it always Soviet ideas and institutions. In all countries in these post-war years there were workmen's movements which contained "revolutionary possibilities." Under the wing of the October revolution the Communist International was set up at Moscow as the "general staff of world-revolution." This was the period of active propaganda, which was both aggressive and defensive, promoting world-revolution and at the same time serving as a means of defense of the new order.

With the introduction of the New Economic Policy in 1921 came first the re-establishment of trade relations with other countries, and then formal recognition. The discussion of the interplay of the internal and foreign policies of the Soviets is outside the scope of this study; for our purposes it is sufficient to note that the period of the New Economic Policy became one of so-called "peaceful cohabitation" with the outside world, although the fact of the "hostile capitalistic environment" was always emphasized and constantly kept before the attention of the workmen and peasants. The idea of world-revolution was not abandoned, nor was it believed that the danger of foreign intervention had been eliminated. It was a period of respite only. The constant controversies between the Soviet government and "bourgeois" governments of other countries over the question of propaganda, nourished the discussion of world-revolution and of defense of the revolution, and in general of the position of the new type of state in the world.

During the summer of 1926 there came a change in the relations of the Soviet Union with the outside world, pointing to a new and third

period. The main factors which brought about the change can only be enumerated. In the internal economic field the Communists began to speak of the period of "reconstruction" as opposed to "recovery," on the basis that the marked economic progress was along the road of the building of the new socialist order. In the outside world the Communists saw signs of the weakening of the capitalistic order, which had been able to effect after the World War what they considered only a temporary stabilization. In these two developments the Communists saw the resumption of the class struggle on a world-scale; and in this new situation the Soviet Union, in their view, became the object of a new offensive of capitalism and also the inspiration and hope of a new wave of revolution. A controversy within the ranks of the Communist party contributed to a clearer definition of the position and rôle of the Soviet Union. Some of the events which were interpreted as supporting this new view of the world-situation were the British general strike and the miners' strike of 1926, the revolutionary movement in China, strikes and demonstrations of workmen in all countries, the spread of Fascism, the rupture of British-Soviet diplomatic relations, and the assassination of the Soviet ambassador at Warsaw, to mention only the most important. The Communist leaders spoke of the imminent menace of armed intervention and of actual "economic intervention" as a step in preparation for another attempt on the part of the capitalists of the world to destroy the Soviet régime. The other aspect of the new situation for them was the rise of the revolutionary tide in other parts of the world, with a corresponding gain in the prestige of the Soviet Union among the toilers and oppressed of other countries. Thus the two ideas of defense of the Revolution and of Soviet leadership of the world-revolution were brought into the forefront of public discussion. These developments, beginning in 1926, furnished material for a clearer formulation of the attitude which the Soviet citizen was expected to take toward his socialist fatherland on the basis of its position in the world.

A sharp differentiation of the Soviet Union from the rest of the world was frequently illustrated by Lenin in a very rough grouping by large categories of the population of the world. At the congress of the party in December, 1927, Stalin in his report on the international situation recalled Lenin's classification. The total number of inhabitants of the earth was estimated at 1,905,000,000. Of these 1,134,000,000 were classed as living in colonial and semicolonial countries. Then three main groups were made, of 143,000,000 in the Soviet Union, 264,000,000 in intermediary countries, and only 363,000,000

in the "large imperialistic countries which are oppressing the colonial and semicolonial countries." Stalin then explained why the report of the Central Committee to the party congress should take up first the international situation:

Our country, comrades, exists and develops in a setting of capitalistic encirclement. Its external situation depends not only on its internal forces but also on the state of this capitalistic environment, on the situation of the capitalistic countries which surround our country, on their strength or weakness, on the strength or weakness of the oppressed classes of the whole world, on the strength or weakness of the revolutionary movement of these classes. I do not need to dwell on the fact that our Revolution is part of the international revolutionary movement of oppressed classes.

In the light of this international revolutionary program the Communist attitude toward the agreements entered into in the name of the Soviet Union with outside "bourgeois" governments has been the subject of much controversy. The following extract from the editorial of the *Pravda* in March, 1928, on the anniversary of the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty in Germany, though not very definite on this point, illustrates how such agreements are explained as in the interests of the workmen and peasants:

The Brest peace was a compromise by the Soviet authority with capitalism. However, it belonged to the category of compromises which kill the opponent. After the conclusion of peace the influence of Bolshevism on the German army increased, and the revolution in Germany was brought nearer by that fact. Like the Brest peace, all "peaceful" relations of the socialist country with the imperialist encirclement are a peculiar kind of compromise with this encirclement. And this kind of compromise also kills the imperialists. The proof of this is the world-wide growth of sympathy for the Soviet Union among all toilers and the growth among these same of hatred for imperialism as it rages against the Soviet Union.

The full content of the foreign policies of the Soviet Union, as directed by the Communists, constitutes a study in itself, and these illustrations are selected only to indicate the general line of the interpretation which is given to the policies adopted. The report of Stalin to the party congress in December, 1927, may be used again to show the trend of these interpretations. Stalin himself furnished a summary of the report by the Central Committee on its leadership, bringing out the interplay of internal and external policies:

1. We have maintained peace with surrounding states in spite of the greatest difficulties and in spite of the provocatory attacks of the bourgeoisie of the "great powers."

2. We have strengthened the alliance of the workman class of the Soviet Union with the workmen of imperialist countries and colonies in spite of a mass of obstacles and in spite of the sea of slander of the corrupt hundred-tongued bourgeois press.

3. We have raised the authority of the proletarian dictatorship among millions of toilers and in all parts of the world.

4. We, as a party, have helped the Communist International and its sections to strengthen their influence in all countries of the world.

5. We have done all that a single country could do for the development and extending of the world revolutionary movement.

6. We have expanded our socialist industry, having established in its development a record rate and having assured its hegemony with respect to the entire national economy.

7. We have established the alliance of socialist industry with peasant agriculture.

8. We have strengthened the union of the workman class with the middle peasant by relying on the poor peasant.

9. We have strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, despite the hostile international encirclement, having shown to the workmen of all countries that the proletariat is able not only to destroy capitalism but to build socialism.

The statements by responsible leaders of the government and party that other governments are actively and sometimes jointly striving to overthrow, by direct as well as indirect means, the "first toilers' state in the world" may seem groundless. The anti-Soviet activities of private individuals or bodies and statements of individual official persons are interpreted as evidences of such a policy and pointed to and cited for the attention of peasants and workmen, now specifically and now simply as a general proposition. One general proposition often made is that the capitalists of other countries see the success of the socialist reconstruction of economic life in the Soviet Union and realize that they cannot afford to allow this success to continue and develop. In 1927 the expressed apprehensions caused a mild war scare. The local Communists tended to interpret literally the statements of the leaders that the period of respite and peaceful relationships between the Soviet Union and its capitalistic encirclement was drawing to a close. In discussing the resolutions of the party congress, local conferences gave chief attention to those bearing on the international situation and the position of the Soviet Union in this international setting. The people began to buy up and hoard goods and provisions to meet the economic dislocations of a war.

This kind of response seriously upset the economic plans and pro

grams, particularly of grain collections for export. The statements suggesting the imminence of armed attack from outside were therefore qualified. However, the "capitalistic encirclement" of the Soviet Union continued to be emphasized, and evidences of "economic intervention" of foreign capitalists were found and pointed out to the workmen and peasants. Even efforts to oppose the Soviet state monopoly of foreign trade were interpreted as malign plans of a hostile capitalistic world. In connection with the Shakhta economic counter-revolutionary plot of a group of engineers, three German engineers were arrested. The discussion of this class-war trial of 1928 gave the interpretation that it had also the feature of foreign economic intervention.

From the many illustrations which might be given of the results of the emphasis on the "hostile capitalistic environment," the following has been selected more or less at random. The last-year students of all the higher technical institutes of Moscow included in the resolution adopted at a general conference on the eve of graduation, the paragraph:

> We face many difficulties in connection with the problems of socialist reconstruction of our country, situated as it is in a capitalistic encirclement. Our enemies are trying to disrupt our constructive work, using to this end all sorts of new forms and methods.

To fix these briefly summarized interpretations of the position in the world of the Soviet Union, and on the basis of these interpretations to develop in the various categories of Soviet citizens a full understanding of the policies of the government and party, and of the resulting duties of the Soviet citizen, the most important of the Soviet institutions and organizations have an international field of activity or at least an international feature. This international side has always been mentioned in the earlier chapters where the institution or organization was described, with a reference to this last chapter. At the risk of a certain amount of repetition these institutions and organizations will be reviewed, as the instrumentalities to develop in the Soviet citizen the world-attitude of the Communist. This review will also illustrate the comprehensive, and at the same time unified, system which these agencies constitute. The response of each general category of citizens on this side of the Communist training can be only suggested.

In theory the Communist party is but one of many sections of the Communist International, responsible to it as the highest authority for all Communists. On this same theory, the Communists must subordinate their policies as responsible officials in the Soviet government

to the aims and tactics of this international body. Policies decided upon by the party for adoption by the Soviet government frequently are submitted to the Communist International for formal approval. It follows that the Communist party of the Soviet Union has the support of the Communists of the world in its assumption of this responsibility of leadership in the Soviet Union, and this interpretation is used to inspirit the members of the party to greater interest and effort. This theory is somewhat modified in practice, however. As the largest section, and that section which has already carried out the program of seizure of power, having "conquered from capitalism one-sixth of the land area of the world," according to a constantly repeated phrase, the Communist party of the Soviet Union is in fact the actual authority in the Communist International. It gave Lenin to the latter as founder and leader; and Leninism, as interpreted by his particular party, is the authority for both bodies. On the basis of their practical experience and success the Communists of the Soviet Union in fact suggest, and even dictate, the policies of the Communist International as a whole and of the other smaller sections. The conditions for admission to the Communist International were formulated largely on the basis of the experience of the Communist party of the Soviet Union; Communist parties of other countries are constantly being told to Bolshevize themselves, that is, to adopt the principles of party structure on which the Communist party of the Soviet Union is organized. As the largest section, the Communist party makes the largest material contribution to the international body. The much disputed question of whether this contribution is taken directly or indirectly from the public resources of the country in whose government the Communist party is the ruling party, does not require discussion for the purposes of this study; it is sufficient to note that the Communists of the Soviet Union are the largest contributors, in personnel and in material resources, to the Communist International.

On the basis of this larger experience and greater ability to contribute as compared with a Communist of a "bourgeois" country, the individual Communist or the Communist party of the Soviet Union has developed a sense of special leadership, a kind of world-leadership. To avoid the suggestion of a Russian leadership the name of the party was changed to "All-Union Communist Party," and as such the party suggests the structure and the organization envisaged for the conduct of the world-revolution when it comes. And this rôle of leadership has engendered the same traits when applied to the world at large as it has within the Soviet Union. There has been a commanding atti-

tude toward Communists of other countries. Although the Moscow leaders have often stated that they share the factories of the Soviet Union with the toilers of all countries, that these factories belong to the workmen of the world, they have at times resented the suggestions, and particularly the criticisms, of Communists of other countries, when the latter have acted on the theory that the Communist International was in fact the highest authority for the Communists of the Soviet Union. Communists from other countries who have come on to help in the leadership of the Revolution have not always had their offer received in the spirit which they expected. For the Soviet Communists have shed their blood for the Revolution, have succeeded and acquired control of the first workmen's state; and as a result, despite the principles of proletarian solidarity, they have shown a marked tendency to want to retain the leadership in their own hands. With the delay in the world-revolution they have been concentrating their attention on the tasks of government and economic reconstruction in the Soviet Union. So under the theory of internationalism, a form of nationalism has developed even in the Communists. Speaking at congresses of the party to exclusively Communist groups, the leaders often refer to "our country" or to the "duty of patriotism to our socialist fatherland," although there will also be reference to the Soviet Union as the "socialist fatherland" for the workmen and toilers of other countries.

The Komsomol, or Communist Union of Youth, like its parent, the Communist party, is also only a section of an international organization, the Communist International of Youth, or "Kim" as the title is currently abbreviated. The Kim has its Executive Committee like that of the Communist International, with headquarters in the building of the latter situated under the Kremlin walls. Congresses of the Kim are also held periodically at Moscow. As the young people of this organization do not carry the same responsibility as their older comrades of the party, these congresses and the meetings of the Executive Committee are less formal. The international feature of the structure of the organization is always emphasized, however. As the training-school for the party, the Komsomol must develop in the younger generation the international outlook of the Communists. To that end a very large percentage of the activities of the Komsomol, as listed in the earlier chapter on the organization, touch directly or indirectly on the world-aims of the movement. For the young people a special holiday is observed, the International Youth Day, which had been instituted before the Revolution but was adopted by the latter for one of its big yearly revolutionary celebrations. Taking place in September,

on the eve of the opening of the schools and when the industrial enterprises again resume full operation after the summer months and when the harvest has been gathered, this first holiday of the autumn is made an important event. The youth play a prominent part in all celebrations and demonstrations, and this special occasion of their own helps to make them feel their general responsibility in this field of activity.

It is with respect to the international situation that the idea of struggle can be most forcefully stressed, particularly since the conclusion of the civil war within the country. The young people, or at least the active element of their Communist organization, find here a wide field for the expression of their enthusiasm. Through the party nucleus within the Komsomol which directs the latter, these young people can be pushed to degrees and forms of protest which the Communists might find it inexpedient to adopt. In any case, the party can always rely on the Komsomol to put spirit into a demonstration or campaign against the "hostile capitalistic environment." It is not expected that the young people will understand the full responsibility of their international obligations, although a very high degree of political consciousness is required of these selected representatives of young workmen, peasants, clerks, and students. For purposes of propaganda and agitation they have proven the most useful groups, having more time for such activity and throwing themselves into it with more abandon, especially in connection with the two ideas of world-revolution and the defense of the Revolution. The Komsomol is also used extensively in the drives for membership of a civic organization, or for subscription to a special cause with an international aspect. Finally, like the party with respect to itself, the Komsomol with respect to the Communist organization of children, carries down to the Pioneers the international ideas of Bolshevism. The responsibility of leadership here forces these young people more precisely to formulate their views.

It is often with the young Komsomol member that the foreign visitor finds himself discussing the international situation. He will be questioned about the possibilities of revolution in his own country or about preparations for capitalistic intervention against the Soviet Union, and will be surprised at the interest and knowledge of facts shown by the young person. The writer had several such experiences, and practically every account of a visit to the Soviet Union makes mention of similar conversations. For the reasons suggested above, the international scope of Bolshevism is most strongly felt, if not fully sensed, by the Komsomol member. Through literature and contacts established at congresses or by correspondence, the Young Communist

is kept in touch with conditions and movements in other countries, interpreted from the Communist viewpoint. One of the objects of these contacts is to acquaint the younger generation with the conditions of labor and education under "the capitalistic order, which they know only from books." On the basis of a more personal contact, the comparison of the two systems is expected to make the young workmen and peasants realize more clearly the principles of the Soviet order, and develop in them a stronger feeling of "Soviet patriotism."

For the Pioneers of the Communist movement among the children of the Soviet Union, there is no formal international organization. However, the Pioneers are included in the celebration of International Youth Day. They help their older comrades, the Young Communists and the Communists, to recruit new members or collect subscriptions for international revolutionary or defense societies or causes. The symbols, the salute, and even the solemn promise of the Pioneers, all point to the international scope of the movement. These have been described above in the chapter on the Pioneers. Many of the games suggested by the leaders are based on themes of world-revolution or of revolutionary defense. Through literature and also through exchange of letters with children of other countries the Soviet Pioneers learn of the world-scope of their organization, and the idea of the solidarity of the Pioneers of all countries is impressed on them. The first question put to me by a small child in a Moscow school was whether there were Pioneers in America. The questions and answers in a talk with a Soviet Pioneer often touch on the subject of international relations, and reveal an unusual interest on the part of the child, and familiarity with the corresponding slogans of the Revolution. The participation of the Pioneers in the meetings and celebrations of their elder comrades is particularly extensive when these touch on the field of relations with the outside "capitalistic" world. Here there is more opportunity for the display of enthusiasm and the use of symbolism. The Komsomol leadership of the Pioneers, exercised under the leadership of the party, guarantees Communist direction to this interest and enthusiasm.

The Soviet Union is itself an international political body. When it was formally instituted in 1923, it was proposed that the new name read "Union of Socialist Soviet Republics of Europe and Asia." This proposal was defeated, on the ground that it did not take into account the other three continents of the world. The structure of the Soviet Union is such that it can expand to include all countries, and this feature is constantly noted in discussions of the new, Soviet type of state.

Soviet emblems, such as the red star with its five points, representing the five continents, symbolize the world-scope of the Soviet system. The international scope of the Soviet Union is indicated in the careful avoidance of words implying a nationalist attitude. Within the Soviet Union the largest and dominant unit is the Russian—the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. When reference is made to this unit, the initials of the five words of the formal name are pronounced as one word, so that the term "Russian" is not used. It is rarely that one hears a Communist using the word "Russian"; and if it cannot be avoided, when for example its use is the subject of discussion, it will be put in quotation marks. In the relations with other countries the term used is always either "Soviet Union" or "Soviet government," except on one or two occasions when the expression "Russian government" was evidently suggested by the fact that former Russian interests were involved. At home the adjective used to designate a tendency of thought, as well as an institutional fact claimed as characteristic of the territorial area to which the rest of the world still refers as "Russia" or "Soviet Russia" is always "Soviet" rather than "Russian." In talking with foreigners who still insist on using the word "Russian," the Communist or Young Communist substitutes "Soviet" in his statement or answer. Among the old intelligentsia and also among the older workmen and the peasants, the word "Russian" still prevails. When there is reference to the official language of the Soviet Union the term "Russian" cannot be avoided; but this language was adopted as the official language with the explanation that it was really the language of the October revolution, words from which, such as "Bolshevism" and "Soviet," had come to be used by the workmen and toilers of the whole world.

Within the Soviet Union local particularism on the basis of national culture or local economic interests is actively combatted. Local regional study is encouraged to determine the cultural and economic resources with a view to their fuller development. But the general interests of the Soviet Union as a whole—that is, the class interests of workmen and peasants—must prevail over purely local interests. Where there is a historical basis, in the form of a compact national group, the federal feature of the Soviet order recognizes the fact, in such a way, however, as to secure the subordination of local interests to the policies of the Union. The Ukrainians enjoy cultural autonomy; they use their native language, sing their Ukrainian folk songs, read books in Ukrainian, and have special institutions to promote their cultural development, in order the better to express themselves

as workmen and peasants. The introduction of new administrative divisions has as one of its aims the abolishing of the old administrative units which in instances serve as the basis for local particularism. The only serious local nationalisms within the Soviet Union are those of the Ukraine and of Georgia in the Caucasus, and these have been vigorously combatted. They have been evoked in part, it was believed, by manifestations of the old Great-Russian militant and exclusive nationalism. This habit of mind, explained as another of the legacies of the old régime which have burdened the new order, is being rapidly outlived, it is claimed. As Ukrainian political nationalism has no way of expressing itself directly, it is impossible to determine to what extent it interprets the internationalism of Sovietism with its center at Moscow, as resembling in many respects the former exclusive and aggressive Russian nationalism. Anti-Semitism was another feature of the pre-revolutionary official nationalism. All manifestations of anti-Semitism are therefore referred back to the old order and are explained as a weapon of the class struggle used by the enemy. Russian chauvinism, Ukrainian nationalism, and anti-Semitism are all declared incompatible with the Marxian doctrine of class, and as "dangerous deviations" from the nationality policy of the party and government and from the principles on which the Soviet Union rests. Their persistence is considered temporary, and active efforts to strengthen or develop these tendencies are interpreted as counter-revolutionary.

Governmental institutions of the Soviet Union illustrate the international character of the latter. The Red army is the army of the world-proletariat. This is implied in the oath which the Red army soldier takes when formally inducted into service. Whenever there is reference to the Red army, this fact of its duty to defend the cause of the toilers of the whole world is always stressed. It is always the "Workman-Peasant Red Army," without a narrow national loyalty. Its immediate duty is to defend the conquests of the Revolution—the land of the peasants and the factories of the workmen. As these two groups still think in terms of the old Russia, for them, and also for the soldiers in the Red army, the latter may still be thought of as a national body. But in the political studies provided as part of the training of the Red army soldier and Red navy sailor, the international rôle of the Soviet Union is given special emphasis. The summary of the contents of these studies, given in the chapter on special political education, brings this fact out clearly. The Red army soldier returning to his village or factory is expected to reflect this empha-

sis; he carries back the ideas of the Soviet economic principles, such as co-operation and collectivist methods of production; his attention has been concentrated on the subjects of national defense for the period of his service. But among the duties of the demobilized Red army soldier is that of propaganda of his new world-outlook in his community.

Two essentially novel practices of the Soviet government in its formal relations with other countries follow from the Communist view of its international character and tend to promote and popularize this view. In the first years the Soviet government addressed directly the peoples of other countries, over the head of the governments of the latter. When Communists or labor leaders of other countries have been arrested or sentenced for revolutionary activity, the Soviet government has on several occasions taken diplomatic steps which suggested that they considered such persons as the nationals of their revolutionary state. Also, in the first years of the Revolution the practice of fraternal alliances with non-Soviet states which were in conflict with "capitalistic imperialism," such as Turkey and Persia, contributed to the internationalist idea. These novelties introduced by the Soviet government were not practiced or emphasized to the same degree during the second period of the New Economic Policy. With the beginning of a third period during the last two years, these earlier practices are reappearing. The recent Soviet proposals for disarmament at the Geneva Conference were explained at home as representing the views and hopes of the toilers of all countries, for example.

Another practice under the Soviet governmental system may be mentioned to illustrate the way in which it is used to represent, and also develop, in the masses the Communist attitude and program with respect to the world at large. Local Soviets, and particularly the large urban Soviets like those of Moscow and Leningrad, always include the international situation on the agenda of their regular sessions. Special sessions of local Soviets are frequently called for the discussion of an international crisis, such as the Balfour ultimatum of 1923 or the recent breaking-off of Soviet-British diplomatic relations; and formal resolutions on foreign policy and appeals to the toilers of other countries are adopted by these local bodies. Though all foreign relations are carried on by the Union authorities, national units, such as the Ukraine, and even local Soviets, discuss and pass resolutions on the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. This practice serves as the basis for the mobilization of the opinion of the broad masses to which the Soviet diplomats often refer in their formal nego-

tiations with the governments of other countries, at the same time representing the political education of the Soviet citizen as an international revolutionary and a Soviet patriot.

The Soviet trade-unions have their international organization in the so-called Red International of Trade-Unions. Founded on the initiative of the Soviet trade-unions under the auspices of the Communist International, this body, like the latter, is theoretically the higher and international authority for the Soviet trade-union, but practically the instrumentality of the latter for influencing the workmen of other countries. At the fourth congress of this "Profintern," as it is called in abbreviation, held in Moscow in March of 1928, all continents and fifty countries were represented; but the Soviet trade-unions, with their membership of over ten millions, had the majority of representatives. This congress discussed and passed resolutions on the workmen's movements of all countries, and the responsibility of this congress, and of the Soviet trade-unions particularly, with respect to the character and progress of these movements was the constant note in the speeches of the Soviet representatives. The seriousness with which this responsibility is taken is perhaps best illustrated in the activity of the Soviet trade-unions during the British strikes of 1926. The aggressiveness of the advice offered, and the tendency to assume direct leadership by the Moscow trade-union leaders, helped to emphasize their idea of the international rôle of the Soviet trade-union, at least among the active elements of the latter. The subscription of 1 per cent of their wages for several months by all Soviet trade-unionists gave concrete content to the idea and fixed it more definitely in their minds, particularly in view of the controversy with the British government which ensued as a result of this support of the British strikes. Opponents assert that the subscription was so organized that there was no possibility of escaping this "voluntary contribution." There were no protests against the contribution, and the trade-union structural machinery put the campaign through in the briefest time; the Communist leaders interpreted these latter facts as evidence of conscious acceptance of their international idea by the workmen and even by the toiling intelligentsia, who form several of the largest of the Soviet trade-unions.

The Profintern also represents formal acceptance of the principles and aims of the Soviet order by organized workmen and toilers of other countries. Through co-operation with the trade-unions and other organizations which belong to the international body, the Soviet trade-unionists have secured friends, and admirers, in the "hostile

capitalist environment." On several occasions the burden of the subscription to assist the British strikers was explained as necessary, in view of the policy adopted by the British government toward the Soviet state; this assistance to friends in Great Britain would strengthen them to resist the new tendencies toward intervention which the Moscow leaders thought to see in the policy of the British government. Thus the international activities of the Soviet trade-unions have a patriotic aspect, being part of the general program of preparedness for defense of the "first toilers' state."

The Communists hope gradually to win the peasants over from individualistic to collectivist methods, and from narrow local or nationalist views to the broader international outlook. When, in the first months of the Revolution, Trotsky urged a revolutionary war against the "capitalist world," Lenin answered that the peasants would not understand and would not fight. During the civil war of the next years the peasants saw foreign intervention supporting the White armies, the advance of which frequently meant the re-establishment of the landlord on the estates which the peasants had seized. Communists in their propaganda made effective use of this fact not only to win over the peasants to their side but also to start them to thinking in terms of the international class struggle; there were enemies outside Russia who were aiding the attempt to deprive the peasants of their revolutionary conquest of the land. Workmen's movements in other countries would overthrow these enemies of the peasants, it was explained, and at the same time relieve the shortage of manufactured goods and raise the price of grain by making possible the more effective working of the new economic order when its basis had been broadened, particularly to include more industrialized countries. Then, as peasant movements began to assume definite and even revolutionary form in several neighboring countries, the Peasant International was instituted, to bring the peasants into more direct touch with these movements and the international struggle. The Peasant International did not become an active or prominent institution. However, it still exists and there is frequent reference to it in the peasant press and in the Soviet press in general.

The leaders of the Soviet trade-unions and co-operatives have frequently emphasized the international affiliations and aims of their organizations in a way to arouse antagonism in corresponding groups of other countries, and perhaps also in their own membership. The activity of the Soviet trade-unions during the British strike may be mentioned again, this time to illustrate a tendency on the part of the

Soviet trade-union leaders to aid in, or even assume, the leadership of a movement in another country. The Soviet co-operative leaders have had a controversy with the secretariat of the International Co-operative Alliance over the question of their activity in the latter. In this instance the Soviet co-operative leaders declared that the views of the secretariat were not shared by the organizations participating in the Alliance, and particularly not by the co-operatized masses, members of these organizations. As the institutions of workmen and peasants, of the masses, these Soviet sections feel a special obligation to verify and correct the leadership of mass organizations of other countries. Often they denounce the existing leadership as working in the interests of the class enemy. This interpretation of the duty and rôle of the particular institution or organization undoubtedly enhances its importance in the eyes of its more active or Communist members. Frequently, however, the many everyday home tasks of a Soviet institution or organization suffer neglect as a result of the time and energy given to the international interests and activities of the particular body, and there are indications that the non-party membership is beginning to think along such nationalist lines. But it is the function of the Communist leadership in each institution or organizaton constantly to insist on the importance of the international aspect of the activities of the institution, as an essential Soviet feature of its structure and aims. In the case of the peasantry and the co-operative movement in general, the nationalist trend has tended to prevail.

The largest and most prominent of the voluntary civic organizations of the Soviet Union either are international in their aims or represent preparedness for defense. The Mopr, or International Society to Assist Revolutionaries, has been described in a previous chapter. The Soviet Union gives the largest single membership, and accordingly the greatest financial support to this society; the members presumably evidence their loyalty to the idea of world-revolution by joining. There is the active element of the membership which works to keep alive the interest in the activity of the sections, which are organized in cells. Congresses, drives for membership, and demonstrative receptions to revolutionaries of other countries who have been exchanged or have served their terms and emigrated to the Soviet Union, keep the society and its aims before the workmen and peasants. Hands-off-China is another voluntary organization, which sprang up in connection with the revolutionary developments in China. It is sufficient to mention these two societies and then refer to the general discussion of the voluntary civic organizations in an early chapter, to bring this side

of Soviet civic activity into the general picture of the methods used to strengthen the internationalist outlook in the Soviet citizen. Then, on the side of preparedness for defense, the so-called Osoaviachem is the basic and largest voluntary organization. The abbreviated name represents the combination of the former Society to Co-operate in Defense and the organization of Friends of Aviation and Chemistry. A total membership of 3,000,000 is claimed by the combined organization. With the breaking-off of diplomatic relations with Great Britain, a voluntary organization calling itself "The Answer to Chamberlain" was set up to raise subscriptions for aeroplanes.

Through these two groups of voluntary civic organizations the Communists and the Red army authorities are able to spread their principles of the unity of the revolutionary movement on the one hand and of military preparedness on the other. The Communists can allow these voluntary mass organizations to take a nationalist line which they, as Communists, cannot express. The Red army authorities can deny all responsibility for the organization of military training which is part of the activity of the Osoaviachem. Also, in the case of the latter, the promotion of commercial aviation and of the use of chemistry in industrial and agricultural development or in combating pests, for example, is emphasized as an equally important side of the activity of the society. In this way the members are making an added, voluntary contribution to the building of socialism, in the interests of both Russia and world-revolution.

The programs of study of the schools, institutes, and universities, and particularly of the special institutions of political education, have been summarized in earlier chapters. In these programs, though indicated under somewhat different titles, the two subjects of "The Communist International and the Prospects of World-Revolution" and "The Soviet Union in the Capitalistic Encirclement" are always given a prominent place and a considerable proportion of the time schedule. Also, the special universities for training Communists of oriental countries and of the racial minorities of the West should be noted in this connection.

Among revolutionary holidays several are specifically international in character, such as May first, the International Day of Workwomen, and the International Youth Day. Red Army Day is the principal holiday centering on the subject of defense. Similarly in the campaigns and drives, some of which come yearly, there is the Mopr drive and, on the other side, Defense Week. But in all celebrations and campaigns the themes of world-revolution and of capitalistic in-

tervention are represented in the literature, speeches, and slogans of the nation-wide propaganda; these celebrations and campaigns are the periodic focusing of attention. These same themes are prominent in the lists of subjects which constitute the "proper ideological content" of literary and dramatic productions, films, radio programs, and music and songs, as discussed in the chapters dealing with the utilization of these instrumentalities for political education.

The proportion of the columns devoted to foreign news is very considerable, not only in the larger directing newspapers but also in the smaller sheets published for workmen and peasants. In the press for young people and children there is also an unusual number of articles on the world-situation. Diplomatic correspondence between the Soviet government and the governments of other countries is extensively reprinted, for it always has a propaganda side and value. The reports of the Soviet delegates in the discussions at the disarmament conferences at Geneva were published even in the small weekly sheets edited for the village readers. This publicity is always accompanied by the statement that only under the Soviet system can a representative to such conferences report freely and fully the discussions and decisions. And in general it is claimed that the discussion of international relations is much more open and free than in other countries which boast of their freedom of the press. The periodic appeals of the Communist International or of the Profintern to the toilers of all countries are carried in full text in the larger sheets and in summarized form in the smaller newspapers. News summaries from special correspondents and from the official telegraph agency, Tass, cover all important countries. The Communist leadership of the press makes possible a fixing of a single line of interpretation, as well as a concentration of attention. The rapidity with which a particular slogan spreads through the entire press is remarkable, and the machinery is set in motion whenever the foreign policy of the government calls for an expression of Soviet public opinion.

The term "militarization" is used freely, and in such an expression as "militarize the whole country." But the Communists insist that their broad program of military training does not imply the kind of militarism which the capitalist order produces. The distinctive features of the Soviet type of state, and particularly of the organization of its armed forces, are pointed to in support of this claim. Thus the Red army under a workman-peasant government is "blood of the blood" of the masses, entering completely into the life of the latter and therefore subject to its complete control. The Soviet form of militari-

zation of the population resembles in many respects an ordinary preparedness for defense program. By promoting the ideas of organization and discipline and by stressing the idea of struggle, this propaganda strengthens the habits which the Communists constantly designate as essential features of their training. These habits have been particularly absent in the Russian masses, and even educated classes, for a whole variety of reasons which cannot be discussed here. The emphasis on discipline in all Soviet organizations and particularly in this program of militarization has a constructive side in the presence of the economic conditions and habits of the people.

The burden and cost of the program for military preparedness is placed on the "capitalistic order" in other countries, particularly since the Soviet proposals of complete or partial disarmaments at the Geneva conferences. These proposals are interpreted at home as an effort to increase the security of the Soviet Union by proving to the toilers of other countries the sincere desire for peace of the Soviet Union, and also as representing an honest attempt to reduce the burden of armaments on the toilers of the world, as well as on the workmen and peasants of the Soviet Union. It is explained that only one conclusion can be drawn from the failure of the Soviet policy as advocated at Geneva, namely, that heavy and constantly increasing armaments are inevitable under a capitalistic system, with its contradictions and rivalries. As the Soviet Union must carry on in this capitalistic environment, it must be prepared to defend itself. The standing army has been reduced to the minimum permitted by safety, only if a broad program of mass military preparedness is carried out, it is explained. To this end military preparedness circles are organized in clubs and village reading-rooms and also in schools. In the higher educational institutions there is a minimum requirement of courses in military science and of military training. The activities of the Komsomol and the Pioneers include military training. The athletic clubs in general, and some specifically, have in mind and develop training for future military service. An extensive literature has been produced to meet the special needs of this program of militarization.

The recent celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Revolution was used to mobilize attention on the propaganda and organization of military preparedness. The celebration in Moscow showed the highest degree of development attained, representing the ideal toward which the leaders are striving. For the units of the Red army were followed in procession by territorial militia units, armed groups of Communists and Young Communists, workmen, and also workwomen with-

out uniforms, but with guns, Pioneer brigades, and corps of voluntary nurses. In the autumn of 1927 many of these volunteer military-training organizations were brought into actual participation in the regular maneuvers of the Red army. Military parades always assume enormous proportions, and the inclusion of a large military element in all celebrations becomes more and more the procedure. The merging of the Red army with the masses, as a precaution against the form of militarism which it is claimed is inherent in the capitalistic system, is thus further promoted, it is believed.

Both internationalist and Soviet defense ideas are kept before the public by delegations of visitors from other countries. In addition to the formal delegates to the Communist International and the Trade-Union International, there have been innumerable trade-union or workmen's delegations, official and unofficial, from practically every large country; from some countries there has been a second or third delegation. The organization of delegations of peasants from other countries has not been so extensively developed. In addition, the Young Communists and the Pioneers of other countries have come in groups, and student groups from East and West have made tours to the Soviet Union. In connection with the celebration of the tenth anniversary in November, 1927, delegations were invited from all countries, whose members, numbering almost one thousand, formed an organization under the name of "Friends of the Soviet Union." Thirty countries were represented in these delegations, who were spoken of as "elected." More than half of the delegations came as the guests of the Soviet trade-unions, but the group as a whole was referred to as "the representatives of workmen, peasants, and radical intelligentsia."

Earlier such delegations to Soviet Russia often experienced difficulties in securing the formal permission from their own governments, and the visits accordingly could be more emphatically interpreted as evidence of the hostility of "bourgeois" governments and of the corresponding friendship of the toilers of other countries toward the Soviet Union. Soviet delegations to other countries to attend congresses have frequently met with a refusal of the passport visa by the governmental authority, in some instances just as they were about to start. The protest which the congress itself in several cases voiced against this exclusion of the Soviet delegation, or even the mere fact of refusal of the visa, furnished the themes for wide discussion of the unique international status of the Soviet Union.

The visiting delegations are always given wide publicity in the Soviet press. A formal reception is usually extended by the govern-

mental authorities. In his speech to the "Friends of the Soviet Union" Rykov, the president of the Council of People's Commissaries explained the character of this reception. It was not merely a courtesy to foreign guests but a "rendering of account" of the economic and cultural achievements of the Soviet Union "which are of international concern and of concern to the toilers of all countries." He pointed out that these foreign guests should feel a moral right to demand such a rendering of account from a representative of the Soviet government. "The Soviet government considered it necessary to explain and justify its policies not only to the workmen and peasants who elect it, but also to all who struggle for peace, socialism, and the abolition of violence of man against man and nation against nation," to quote an account of this speech. Several of the more important of the trade-union delegations have been received by Stalin. The interviews with Stalin have taken the form of answers to questions submitted in advance by the delegations, and Stalin's answers have then been widely published in the press. Thus his answers to the unofficial American trade-union delegation of 1927 appeared not only in the party organs but also in the *Peasant Newspaper*. In this way the Communists in turn render account of the statements which they make to the workmen of other countries through the delegations sent by the latter.

Communists and the older Young Communists and many of the non-party workmen organized in the trade-unions are theoretically complete and conscious internationalists. An expression of this internationalist attitude will be found in the appeal of the congress of the International of Trade-Unions held in Moscow in April, 1928, representing the largest single organized group in the Soviet system. The appeal spoke of the "overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the elimination of frontiers between peoples," called for the "disarmament of the class enemy," and concluded with the usual formula of "Long live the united front of the proletariat in the struggle against capitalism." The appeal was in the main directed against the preparations for new wars which it was alleged the bourgeoisies of all countries were making. These preparations were leading to a further exploitation of the toilers and were therefore directed particularly against the "country whose working class has freed itself from bourgeois exploitation," this document went on to explain. The following appraisement of the international situation of the Soviet Union was formulated:

> The pressure of the bourgeoisie of any given country on the Soviet Republic and on the toilers of our country is organically connected with its attack on the workman class of its own country. These are thus the two sides of one and the same fact. It is precisely because the workmen and the oppressed peoples of the world turn their eyes toward the Soviet Union that this pressure becomes more and more acute, and that attempts are made to organize the economic and financial blockade of the Soviet Union.

The statement was addressed to the "Workmen of All Countries" under the title of the slogan "To the Defense of the Soviet Union."

This conception of the Soviet Union as the fatherland of the toilers of the world and of all oppressed peoples is one of the bases on which the Communists deny all charges of imperialistic aims. They quote the frequent references to Soviet imperialism or Red imperialism but insist that there is no justification for the coining of such terms. On the same grounds Soviet military preparedness does not denote aggressive nationalism, it is claimed; nor is assistance to revolutionary or nationalist movements in other countries a new kind of imperialism.

Lenin had designated two kinds of foreign wars as just. For a proletarian state there can be a war of defense from the point of view of the interests of workmen and peasants. Secondly, people "subject to the yoke of a foreign capitalism" may fight for its national independence. This authoritative formulation by Lenin permits the Communists to give material and moral assistance to weaker or oppressed peoples and to furnish advice and leadership to the nationalist as well as the revolutionary movements among these peoples. The furnishing of this material assistance, advice, and even leadership is interpreted at home as contributing to the security of the Soviet Union as well as to the victory of the international idea.

The two ideas of world-revolution and revolutionary defense of the Soviet Union have come to be closely related. They have given to Soviet institutions many of their distinctive features, which in turn have represented mechanisms and processes by which the civic interest of the Soviet citizen is secured and his civic training conducted. In both of these ideas there are present the elements of struggle and of the leadership of particular groups in this struggle, and for that reason they bring out with particular clearness the conscious and systematic use of methods of stimulation in Soviet civic training.

CONCLUSION

One of a series covering different countries, this study has aimed to describe the methods of civic training in post-revolutionary Russia, or the Soviet Union. The approach is by way of analysis and general characterization rather than technical and comparative description. The fact that one had the new setting of a revolutionary period, in which civic training was one of the "fronts" of the struggle, made the method of general description necessary. The practices of other systems were always in mind, however, and similarities and differences were noted. The general plan for the several studies was applicable to Soviet methods with modification in the matter of emphasis. With a few important additions, the responses expected of citizens are much the same in the new, revolutionary social order as those evoked in the national state. In the first years of militant Communism the situation was somewhat different, but it was a period of civil war. Out of the present New Economic Policy will develop, it is explained, socialism as a step to the co-operative commonwealth, but that is a matter of the future. However, it is claimed for the Soviet system that it secures conscious interest in public affairs, a keen willingness to participate in politics, a real sense of responsibility for "revolutionary" legality, and a special sense of duty in the public service.

The activities which are expected of the citizen during the present period of transition are voting, payment of taxes and subscriptions to loans, contribution to defense of the country, and conformity to its laws. In the revolutionary setting particular significance is attached to voting, in the many and new kinds of elections. Political considerations determine the taxation policy and the methods of floating public loans, and legislation is active and comprehensive, to promote as well as register the revolutionary changes. More active general civic interest has been expected as part of the Revolution, such as participation in celebrations and attention to cultural development. It is the emphasis on labor and economic policy that gives a larger content to the idea of civic obligation under the Soviets. There must be the contribution to the introduction of a new economic order—to the building of socialism. This feature has entailed a constant purposefulness in civic activity and a definite direction to civic training. Certain basic principles of the Soviet system are in point here. There must be

always the class approach in political activity, and in the economic field the activity must be in the direction of collectivism. Activity is stimulated always with these qualifications. Finally, economic activity is required; and failure to sell products or to work may be interpreted as sabotage, which under certain conditions is tantamount to counter-revolution.

To secure these responses, political, economic, and ethnic interests are utilized. In the Soviet system religious interests are recognized as existing, but there is a definite policy to minimize and control them. Also, the personal interests of the individual are considered only qualifiedly, to emphasize the collectivist idea which is to be the basis of the new order. Class interests, political and particularly economic, are opposed to personal interests; class interests are to prevail over ethnic interests, the latter being promoted only to serve the former; class interests are placed in sharp opposition to religious interests as incompatible with the latter on economic as well as ideological grounds.

Class, economic interests have received the strongest stimulation as part of the doctrinal basis of the Revolution. The government professes a definite economic theory, namely, communism by the road of socialism. The nationalization of the major means of production and the resulting network of state economic enterprises furnish a wide field for the practical application of this theory. Laws, as well as administrative practices, have the positive aim to introduce and foster economic activity in line with the theory, so that government has a concrete relation to the workaday life of the individual. This feature of the Soviet system—its most outstanding and distinguishing one—adds both importance and difficulty to the problem of stimulating interests.

The idea of the building of a new social order is the most general stimulus used; it is in practice a substitute for the idea of patriotism in a national state and has tended to nationalize the Revolution as well as glorify civic activity. There is constant emphasis on the unique character of the new order and of each particular institution. To speak of a policy or method as being followed for "the first time in history" has become almost subconscious in the leaders. The alleged novelty of the institution is exploited to promote interest and participation on the part of the masses. There exists no army like the Red army, no government like this government of workmen and peasants.

The Communist goal has not yet been reached, and the Soviet Union is only "on the road to socialism," the latter being but a pre-

liminary stage. The present generation must live with faith in the economic principles of the Revolution, unable to enjoy fully all the benefits that will accrue when the new order shall have been established. But the workmen are constantly told that Soviet industries will shortly be brought to a rate of expansion and production unattained under the capitalist system, and that the "rationalization" of industry under a proletarian dictatorship will not run counter to the interests of the workmen or toilers in general. Similarly, the peasants are promised standards of production and living surpassing those to be found in the most progressive agricultural communities of the capitalist system. Collectivization and electrification are the factors here, and it is explained that only the Soviet system can guarantee that the development of these methods will in fact be in the interests of the toiling peasantry.

The difficulties of the task of constructing the new order are used to strengthen the stimulation. Opposition within or outside the country, the constantly mentioned "capitalist encirclement," give concrete objectives for the desired activity. The ideas of struggle and suffering become essential features of all the techniques used. The setting of an economically and culturally backward country just recovering from the ravages of years of foreign and civil wars makes it possible, as well as necessary, to present concrete tasks of practical, technical training, such as re-equipping and building factories and introducing better methods of agriculture. Americanism, in the sense of technical progress, is to be combined with revolutionism, as an attitude of mind; and the proper balance of these two elements is a matter of constant concern.

The same instrumentalities have been used to develop the stimulation to civic interest that one finds used in other countries, such as education, literature and art, patriotic societies or ceremonies. The distinguishing feature of the Soviet system in this respect is the deliberate use of every possible agency and the carefully thought-out method of use for each. The agency may be made less effective with respect to its basic purpose by being put to such use, but the importance of civic training is considered full justification for emphasis on the political. For the Soviet system aims to retrain a whole people along new lines. It is Communist training in a revolutionary atmosphere and in the conditions of an active movement; the politics of the Revolution are made to penetrate all institutions, organizations, and fields of activity. There is no hesitation in using the methods of agitation and propaganda. Particular situations are met by the first,

more active stimulus, and other problems by the second less direct means of stimulation. Methods of direct action are characteristic of a revolution, and the revolutionary setting has made it possible to reinforce the stimulation by an element of compulsion in the name of the Revolution. The use of force is gradually being refined; administrative pressure is restricted within the limits of absolute necessity, it is claimed, care being taken to stop short of the point at which it would antagonize or confuse. The definition of socially useful civic activity, however, requires means of discipline as well as rewards. It also makes more specific the idea of antisocial activity, with corresponding measures of strict limitation or even suppression. Here the class principle is also brought in by emphasis on the good will of the class and the sharing in its privileges, with the penalizing of any betrayal of class interests.

The use of the various agencies and methods is studied and checked as to its effectiveness, for it is believed that the conditions of the revolutionary situation, in which the masses have thrown themselves into action and constructive effort, make possible a more scientific study of the human personality and of the methods of acting on it. Varieties of personality responses to civic stimulation are recognized and taken into account, though in this matter also the class principle is given the usual emphasis. The frank and direct approach to a problem which is characteristic of Soviet methods is to be noted particularly in this question. For here the variety of the response constitutes part of the revolutionary process. It is believed that there are degrees of political-mindedness in the various classes. The disfranchisement of the new bourgeoisie is based on the view that this class is particularly capable of political organization and action. As between workmen and peasants, the former only are believed to be able to organize and lead, while the latter are regarded as politically passive.

Within these class divisions the personality factor is taken into account and recognized by admission to the Communist party. In this way the active revolutionist is consciously and carefully selected, given special training, and stimulated by special organizations and methods to become the builder as well as the agitator. On the other end of the scale is the person who takes the attitude of the mere inhabitant, held in the deepest contempt and more or less ignored. Between these two extremes grades of activity, possible as well as desired, are recognized. There is the active element and the passive element in the non-party masses, and the stimulations are graded accordingly. There is also the variety of qualifiedly active in addition to that of passive by

compulsion. There is not complete free play in the matter of civic responses for various groups or even for individuals within the group. The workman must be active, the private trader must be passive; in the rural districts the poor peasant must be active and the rich peasant passive. The mass of the peasantry, the middle peasant, and the toiling intelligentsia are expected to accept the political leadership of the proletarian element of the community. And in each class-group with respect to which activity is promoted there are the main classifications of party members, non-party active, non-party passive and mere inhabitant unconscious of his class interests.

On the basis of these general characterizations one may note how Soviet civic training uses the various techniques at its disposal. The Soviet Union has the same geographic and economic unity as the former Russian Empire, although the loss of Finland and of the former Polish and Baltic provinces has made access to the outlets somewhat less easy and secure. The idea of the single political entity for this great plain of Eastern Europe and its geographic prolongation across the northern part of Asia—a tradition of many centuries—is still realized. One of the Soviet postage stamps shows in clear red this enormous and single area on a map of Europe and Asia. The unity of this geographic area, which was one of the sources of strength of the old Empire, has contributed to the political unity of the Soviet Union. There are economic differences, but they are not marked; the level of economic development is on the whole very much the same throughout the vast area with respect to the main zones into which it falls.

The ethnic differences are many, but the very fact of their large number and that the racial minorities, with few exceptions, have not had a strongly conscious nationalistic political past have made it possible to create a unity despite the ethnic divergencies. Here certain Soviet principles, such as class as opposed to nationality, and the recognition of the nationality principle within certain limits through a form of federation, have given to the Soviet Union a stronger unity than had the old empire with its measures of forcible Russification. The most aggressive of the national groups formerly united with the Russian, such as the Polish, Finnish, Lithuanian, and Lett, have been withdrawn; these groups represented the greatest obstacles to unity in the old empire. There are not marked cultural differences between the national minorities and the dominant racial group, which would strengthen the ethnic differences. The Ukrainian is very close to the Russian in many respects. The Georgian, which may be mentioned as

the other strongly conscious national group, is situated in a corner of the country beyond a range of mountains.

All the racial groups, and particularly the dominant Russian group, have been traditional migrants over this vast and uniform plain. In Siberia one meets much the same type of Russian workman or peasant that one finds on the Volga or in the Ukraine, intermingled with other races who may represent the original or even dominant local group. The migratory tendency has continued under the Soviets. The areas sharply distinguished ethnically for the most part are on the borders of the plain. The Caucasus and Crimea with their special geographic features, represent on the one hand sources of oil and other mineral wealth and a market for labor for the economic unit, and the site of sanitoria and places of rest and recreation for the workers on the monotonous plain with its continental climate. So far as there exists a strong antagonism on ethnic grounds, it has an economic aspect, being a conflict between industrial manufacturing and agricultural interests. The racial minorities are in the main agriculturists, while industrial development is concentrated to a considerable extent in the Russian centers. Plans of industrialization call for a correction of the balance in this respect, for political as well as economic purposes. The basis of political unity of the Soviet system is the alliance of the two classes of workmen and peasants. The furthering of the alliance of these two economic groups is an objective for all Soviet institutions, and success in this respect, which is recognized as one of the tests of Sovietism, is expected to solve the problem of racial divergences. The migration mentioned above is between village and city as well as between regions, and this contributes to the promotion of Sovietism as a bond of political unity between workmen and peasants.

Attachment to and love of locality are not neglected as techniques to be utilized, however. The cultural particularities of the various racial groups of the Soviet Union are emphasized, and local regional study is promoted by voluntary societies as well as in the schools. But these policies are not expected to promote local particularism. The emphasis on the cultural achievements of the racial group is supplemented by a greater emphasis on the opportunities under the political system of the Soviet Union for the cultural self-determination of the masses. Interest and pride in local physical and cultural features are always directed toward the idea of contributing to the common tasks of the Soviet Union as a whole in the building of the new social order.

The question of lost and unredeemed territory and population takes on a double form under Sovietism. As understood from the point of view of the national state, the Soviet Union has only two *irredenta* problems. The eastern frontier of Poland has divided off Ukrainian and White Russian elements; and the "stealing" of Bessarabia is interpreted as an injustice to the Moldavian Soviet Republic, one of the units of the Soviet Union. This small unit was created to make the alleged injustice stand out in relief. With respect to the enormous emigration produced by the Revolution, there is a desire to secure the return of certain class elements—the workmen and peasants. The other groups are not wanted because of class or political affiliations. The existence of the emigration is used to secure unity and loyalty at home on class and party grounds. The other sense in which an *irredenta* problem presents itself follows from the international aspect of Sovietism. The toilers and oppressed of the world are considered citizens of Sovietism, gradually being reached by its principles. This sense of mission is used to promote a greater devotion to the principles of Sovietism, and to secure support of the policies of government and leadership to enforce these principles in the political and economic life of the Soviet Union.

The old empire was "holy, orthodox Russia"; and one of the bases of its political unity was the state church, the church of the majority of the people. The policy with respect to religion and the church under the old régime tended to defeat itself as a factor working for unity. This negative aspect of the traditional rôle of the church in Russia was eliminated by a policy of complete separation of church and state, and of exclusion of the church from the field of education. Freedom of worship was granted by the new order, and on this basis appeal for loyalty is made. Divergences of religion, corresponding to divergences of race, are minimized as much as possible; and this policy is given concrete form by strict limitations on the activities of a church or religious body or association. This is only one side of the question, however. A definite conflict between the church and the new order was one of the principles of the Revolution, and this conflict took on the form of methods of direct action. Religion is condemned on ideological grounds, and the church is declared to be a weapon of exploitation of the people. These are the professed views of the leadership, and they influence the policies of the government. The church is recognized as a rival, or to use the more direct terminology of the Revolution, as an "enemy"; and it is on the basis of class interests that religious loyalties are combated. At the same time loyalty to the

Revolution is emphasized and promoted in ways that often suggest to the outside observer the attitudes and methods of a religious movement.

With respect to economic groups, the class principle on which the Soviet system is based greatly simplifies the problem of stimulating civic interest in general and of securing support of the new political tradition. There is no need to balance business and labor, or landlord and peasant. The landlord group has been abolished, although the so-called "rich peasant" suggests its reappearance on a small scale. The new bourgeoisie in trade and industry and even this rich peasant are tolerated and used, but are not expected to like the new order. The interests of workmen and peasants are the only ones considered, and as between these two the interests of the workmen are given priority. Economic differentiation within the peasantry is taken into account, and the semiproletarian element, the poor peasant, is made the object of special solicitude. The office worker as a wage-earner constitutes a third economic group whose interests are considered; and here, as in the subgroup of technical experts, there is differentiation on the basis of class, as between those of bourgeois origin and those who have come up from the workmen and peasants. The latter are expected to retain the attitude of their respective classes. The bourgeois technical expert, in whatever line he may be engaged, is expected to be professionally interested in the wider opportunities for constructive work secured by the new order. His loyalty, though recognized as qualified by force of circumstances of birth and training, is particularly sought, though to secure it the method of monetary reward is found expedient in the case of certain groups of managerial or engineering experts. The aim constantly in mind is to "win over" the middle peasant, who represents the peasant class as opposed to the workman class. Lenin in 1921 defined the problem in the form of a question: Who will satisfy the peasants, the proletariat with its dictatorship and the control of the socialistic sector of the national economy, or the new bourgeoisie developing under the New Economic Policy?

The continuity of the political community was broken only temporarily by the October revolution. The monarchial tradition had been rapidly losing ground for a generation and was shattered by the personality and policies of the last sovereign. The old governmental machinery had already broken down under the February revolution, and the military tradition had been weakened by the defeats and consequent demoralization of the last year of the war and the first months of revolution. The October revolution was directed against these tra-

ditions, and set itself the task of actively combatting what was left of them, because of their character and also as a technique for creating a set of new traditions. Here the question of governmental services was considered of paramount importance, and from the beginning there was conscious endeavor to give to the governmental services a new character and establish the kind of tradition that would further the principles of the new order.

A new kind of governmental apparatus is believed to be in the process of development. There are "Soviet workers" rather than "officials," and in the armed forces "citizen-fighters" instead of "officers and soldiers." The Workman-Peasant Militia is the ordinary police, and the special political police is the "unsheathed sword of the proletariat." A workman-peasant Inspection brings all governmental services under mass control, which works to eliminate bureaucratic spirit and tendencies. Further, governmental services, which are many and numerically large under the Soviet system, are so organized with respect to lay participation and periodic renovation as to serve also as a school of government. In time the state is to "waste away," according to Communist theory. The class principle is applied in the matter of recruitment to civil as well as military service, in conformity with the official titles of the institutions. Selection on the basis of class is crossed by a special system of control, through the monopoly of legality of the single political party. This latter feature particularly is expected to create new traditions in the governmental services, making them distinctive of the new, Soviet democracy and furnishing one of the techniques for stimulating the political interests of workmen and peasants. The economic policy of the Soviet state makes necessary an enormous apparatus of administration; but through various voluntary economic organizations, like the trade-unions and the co-operative societies, it is believed that effective mass control is provided for and developing. In this way the habit of the former attitude toward "government" is combated. The Marxian theory of the state is sometimes summarized in popular terms, to explain that the element of compulsion is a temporary evil of the period of transition to the co-operative commonwealth.

The unique position of the Communist party affects the Soviet system in all its aspects; in the governmental services, for example, the members of this selected group have a privileged position and assume a special responsibility. The party is also unique in its structure, and it is only in a qualified sense that the term "party" is applicable to this type of organization. Admission to the party is

surrounded with formalities and positive restrictions, and the membership is under an iron discipline, which to date has been effectively enforced. The party may be defined as the organization of special groups which are given special training, for a special kind of leadership in the special conditions of a Revolution; technically it is the "vanguard" of the workman class in the exercise of the proletarian dictatorship. These features make for a high degree of loyalty on the part of the membership, to the party as such, and to the political order for which the party has assumed the full responsibility of leadership. The acceptance on the part of the non-party masses of this leadership is declared to be an integral element of the new political order. The contacts with all mass organizations and the methods of leadership are expected to give this acceptance the character of positive loyalty.

Elections of all kinds are frequent and for all groups, and through these elections the leadership of the party is to be made effective and at the same time responsive to the interests of the non-party masses. In addition to Soviet elections, there are the frequent re-elections of factory and local committees of the trade-unions, and of local and central boards of the co-operative societies. The women have elections of their own for their Conferences of Delegates. The voluntary civic organizations have less formal elections. For the members of the party there are the party elections; and the party's training school, the Union of Communist Youth, which helps the party in its leadership, also has regular and formal elections. Elections are held at general meetings of the voters, and the method of voting is by show of hands or acclamation. It is believed that this method of voting makes for a more active and conscious interest; it is considered politically useful, and not merely expedient, to provide thus for an open and direct expression of opinion. Reporting back to the constituency is also promoted and facilitated by this method of voting, it is claimed. Representation is occupational, and the elections are indirect; and these features of the elections of the Soviet system are believed to make the act of voting more conscious and intelligent. The frequent and various kinds of elections are expected to give to the non-party masses the sense of contact with the one party and to serve as a substitute for the technique of party loyalty in systems in which the majority of the voters have definite party affiliations. The question of the possibility of only one party in the Soviet system is considered settled as a matter of principle; only the raising of the question of the Soviet order itself would call for a multiparty system, is the argument advanced.

Trade-unions, co-operative societies, and a series of civic or patriotic organizations in which membership is general and voluntary are the channels provided by the Soviet system for the expression of economic and other more general interests of the non-party workman, peasant, or Soviet worker. The trade-unions have come to embrace the overwhelming majority of wage-earners, and the co-operative movement has established contact with a very considerable number of the peasant individual households and wage-earners. Other civic organizations claim an aggregate membership of over ten millions of workmen and peasants. The economic policies and activities of the state are furthered, and also controlled it is asserted, by the trade-unions and co-operatives, which have a special and authoritative relationship to the governmental bodies. The trade-unions are spoken of as "a school of Communism," and the co-operative societies are considered steps toward socialism; the economic functions of both organizations are supplemented by cultural-educational work which makes more definite the political aspect of their activity. Both are characterized as "bulwarks of the new order."

The employment of the schools and educational institutions of all grades for the purposes of civic training is particularly deliberate and systematic. All education has been brought under state control and Communist direction. Communist training is part of all education; centralized control and the detailed working-out of uniform programs of study and methods of instructions contribute to the realization of this aim. The school is "politicized" in the broadest sense of the term, to transmit the traditions of the Revolution to the coming generations, perpetuate the Revolution, and train for effective support of its principles. The regular school system is supplemented by special institutions and organizations of political education and Communist training; the Pioneer movement among the children and the Union of Communist Youth have the special tasks with respect to and within the schools. There is frank and active indoctrination of Marxism-Leninism as the only scientific method of analyzing social phenomena. The large number of hours in the curricula of all institutions assigned to Soviet civics makes the school system one of the basic units in Soviet civic training. Special schools of "political grammar," circles of political grammar in workmen's clubs and village reading-rooms, special Conferences of Delegates for women, political studies in the Red army, and schools for adults and children's homes supplement the regular school system.

Language has been utilized as a technique to evoke responses in

several interesting respects. The idea of the unity of the political community has been promoted by the fact that Russian as the official language of the old régime had reached out into all groups, supplementing the native tongue. Russian logically became the official language also of the Soviet Union; it is sometimes characterized as "the language of the Revolution." At the same time the local use of the language of each national minority is actively promoted. General cultural and political consciousness is thus developed, through the wide and official use of the native tongue. These concessions to individual national cultural tendencies within the Soviet Union are expected to make for a stronger political and economic unity, on the basis of class as opposed to racial interests. Literature and art, the stage and music, and the cinema and the radio are in the foreground among the techniques used under the Soviet system. Interest in the pre-revolutionary productions and achievements in these fields is centered on their technical methods; the content is available particularly where it shows the negative sides of the old order or the revolutionary traditions among workmen and peasants. What is considered positive in the old order, is now made to serve the new; and these channels of self-expression and cultural achievement are placed at the disposal of the new classes in power for the expression of their class consciousness and of the idea of struggle. Similarly science has been "conquered" for the benefit of the masses. Interest in these fields, of literature and science, for example, is stimulated by the claim that the new order secures a wider and freer activity. All activity along these lines of self-expression is guided in the particular direction that will reflect the new conditions of life and strengthen the political and economic policies of the state.

As one of the most powerful means of political influence the periodic press has been reorganized on completely new lines. The Soviet press is official, in the sense that practically all newspapers or periodicals are the organs either of the government, the party, or a definite organization such as a trade-union or a co-operative society. The press is systematically organized to serve classes and particularly groups—the workman or the peasant, the trade-unionist in general, or the school-teacher. Organs of government and party have the special function of being directing organs with respect to all others. By the novel institutions of non-professional but regular correspondents, particularly among workmen and peasants, and of informal wall-newspapers in all important institutions, the press has been utilized most

fully to evoke the desired responses and stimulate interests in support of the new order.

Symbolism as a technique has not been eschewed under the Soviets. In the extensive symbolism of the Revolution there is the expression of the new ideas, often by sharp contrast with the old. The double eagle representing autocracy and Russian nationalism is replaced by the hammer and sickle. The Red flag is the emblem of revolutionary struggle and the red star points to the five continents of the earth as the scope of the Revolution. On coins and stamps, for the faces of the former tsars have been substituted those of Lenin and other leaders, including a prominent scientist, and of types of the new ruling classes, of workmen and peasants, with their instruments of labor or in the uniform of the Red army soldier. The slogans of the Revolution are spread out on these emblems. New statues and monuments, and even the architecture of the new buildings, symbolize the new ideas. Ceremonies in celebrations and mass demonstrations are systematically organized, the element of decoration being featured to utilize these occasions to the full for symbolizing the ideas of the new order. For the children, and to a certain extent for the young people, ceremonials are staged to appeal to the emotions. But a rationalized and matter-of-fact use of ceremonies and symbols is emphasized, on the basis that such brings out more effectively the close relation of the political order to the everyday, vital interests of the workman or of the peasant. There is constant appeal to the "pathos of constructive effort" through class consciousness and class approach.

In respect of the international attitude, the principle of class determines the interests to be stimulated and the responses which it is the aim to evoke. Loyalty to the toilers of all countries and a corresponding hatred of all capitalists as exploiters are to constitute the attitude. This means a policy of peace but also of preparedness for defense; it is a policy of non-aggression or aggression according to the class viewpoint. In the name both of world-revolution and of national defense there is constant stimulation in support of the foreign policies of the "toilers' state." The use of all available techniques to develop the international attitude among workmen and peasants brings out with particular clearness the deliberate and thorough character of Soviet methods of civic training, and also the content of the Communist conception of Soviet citizenship.

The Revolution, which has been in progress now for over ten years, has its so-called "cultural front," and its aim in this respect is to retrain the entire mass of the people. In the eleventh year the po-

litical atmosphere is still one of active struggle—of class struggle under the doctrine of the Communist leaders. In the rural districts, for example, the conflict between groups within the peasantry has become more acute, having been deliberately promoted as a matter of policy. For the task of retraining the masses requires, it is believed, the setting of an active political movement. The principle of the class struggle is present in the state planning of economic activity and development, which is one of the outstanding features of the Soviet system. The influence of the political factor is thus emphasized as a principle of Sovietism. This emphasis on the political gives a larger content to the Soviet conception of civic activity, and greater importance to the task of training for citizenship.

One of the results of the Revolution and of the methods adopted by the Communist leaders to organize mass political action and wide training for citizenship has been a marked increase of "activeness," in the peasants as well as the workmen, and particularly in the young people. The "cultural revolution" contemplated calls for the use of every possible channel of influence to promote mass activity in conformity with the new ideology. In the concentration on a special group—the small and selected membership of single party of the Soviet system—the fullest utilization of all possible techniques is to be noted. There are special organizations for the civic training of the youth and of children. The Soviet form of government is expected to promote mass political interest and activity, of all racial groups, at the same time supplying constant and practical training for effective citizenship. The periodical press is official, and aims to enforce the political leadership of the party and also to train the masses in practical politics. Trade-unions, co-operatives, and patriotic societies are assigned specific tasks in the field of political education. Museums are utilized for civic training in an organized way by the broad development of the institution of excursions. Revolutionary holidays and campaigns have a special place in the life of the new order. In the schools and universities the subject of Soviet civics is stressed and is given a definite content in order to indoctrinate the younger generation with the principles of the Revolution. Special schools of "political grammar" and political studies in the Red army supplement and emphasize civic training for particular groups. Literature, art, and the stage, and particularly the radio, the cinema, and music are utilized in a planned manner to evoke civic response and facilitate the expression of civic interest. In all this stimulation of civic interest

the two ideas of promoting the international movement centered at Moscow and of defending the Soviet Union are always present.

The emphasis on the political has been somewhat reduced as the more prosaic tasks of economic reconstruction have come to the fore after the first years of the heroic period of the Revolution. But a non-political attitude is constantly combated; Soviet citizenship is a serious business. In its provision for training for citizenship the Revolution, with the resulting Soviet order, may be characterized as a large-scale and radical experiment in this field. Under the doctrine of the class struggle group attitudes are frankly stressed, and there is the most thoroughgoing utilization of all possible techniques to define and promote these group attitudes. Every available means is grasped to give to the official terminology of "Workman-Peasant Government" a practical significance in the workaday life of the masses and to bring out the peculiar and novel features of the Toilers' State. As the younger generation of the period of the Revolution comes into active life, it will be possible to determine the real effectiveness of the methods used, and particularly of the deliberate and constant planning which the Soviet system calls for in the field of political education.

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(The chapter headings have also been included in the Index; the method of presentation adopted has made it necessary to refer to a chapter for the discussion of the particular topic. Subjects such as "civic activity," "the obligation to engage in public activity imposed on certain groups," "the rôle of leadership of the Communists," "the class principle in Soviet institutions," or "the 'alliance' between the two classes of workmen and peasants" constitute the main themes of the study, and therefore could not be noted in the Index.)

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